

SALT: 'further progress'

The stakes are so high for people everywhere that the slightest hint of a breakthrough in nuclear arms control calls for the thoughtful and indeed prayerful support of persons both near and far from the complex realm of SALT. Nothing now should be allowed to spoil this week's favorable new breeze behind the return of U.S. arms negotiator Paul Warnke to meet with Soviet counterparts in Geneva.

The cautious optimism felt in Washington and the United Nations was exemplified by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's statement after a sudden meeting at the White House that "some further progress" has been made. This followed previous announcements by the U.S. and Russia that each would abide by the terms of the present SALT agreement after its official termination this week. And Mr. Gromyko's statement of "firm intention" to work toward a second agreement, echoed by the Carter administration, also followed his UN speech expressing Soviet eagerness for undelayed completion of a SALT II agreement.

It is true that Mr. Gromyko's speech included criticism of the United States for "sermonizing" and for hampering SALT with its position on cruise missiles and talk of developing a neutron bomb. But he was conciliatory in his hopes for a return to a better sense of détente.

From remarks by UN Ambassador Young later in the day, it seemed clear that the U.S. did not intend to resume what Mr. Gromyko called sermonizing. Mr. Young said that, "once you've made your point," as on human rights, it is appropriate to "let up" and await results. "I think the Soviet Union gets our point," he

added, citing some of his own country's shortcomings. Mr. Young said, "I don't think we should be self-righteous."

Others at the UN were saying that America's open stance on human rights would not prevent the Soviet Union from accepting SALT terms if considered fair to Soviet interests. But it is well that President Carter has "let up" on the criticism, having made his point. The SALT negotiations need to proceed with a minimum of distraction. If the nuclear superpowers do not demonstrate that they can curb their appetite for weapons of mass destruction, they will have failed to take an important step toward reducing other countries' desires for nuclear proliferation. As a U.S. arms expert put it, there is little doubt that, if nuclear weapons multiply unchecked, one of them will be used — and then . . . ?

Fortunately, the new SALT thrust takes place in a context of progress in another arms forum, the multinational Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that has been meeting for years in Geneva. A U.S. delegate told a United Nations Association meeting of journalists last week that the remaining problems in nuclear test-ban and chemical warfare agreements were "technical" ones. The political will for agreement was there, he said, and experience showed that, when this is the case, the technical details are not allowed to languish.

Has a definite political will been established by the two parties in SALT? Will it carry them through to solving the remaining disagreements? The answers are at least more positive than they seemed a few months ago.

Israeli concession?

In their determined effort to get the Mideast conference resumed, American officials express satisfaction that Israel has "reverted" its stand and agreed to meet at Geneva with a unified Arab delegation. Whether this is truly a substantive concession or simply a tactical move to appear reasonable and flexible remains to be seen. We would like to think it is the former. But, on the face of it, the accepted plan has obvious limitations. It remains largely on Israel's terms.

Thus, the unified Arab delegation would be present only for the ceremonial opening of the conference. It could not include any Palestinians that are known representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel would not negotiate with such an Arab contingent, which presumably would split up and meld into the delegations representing the various Arab states. Nor would it accept any modification of UN Resolution 242, which treats the Palestinian question only as a "refugee" problem.

By accepting the Washington plan, however, the Israelis have captured hostilities in the United States and possibly this is their immediate objective. The Palestinians, it can be argued, have lost ground to the growing battle for American public opinion. They have refused to accept Resolution 242 and, thereby, to recognize Israel's right to exist. And they did not respond positively to the Carter administration's recent olive branch. If the Palestinians must be represented at a Geneva conference, in the light of this, Israel presumably sees an opportunity to enhance its own image, lately tarnished by Prime Minister Menachem Begin's unyielding stand on both the West Bank and the PLO.

The Israeli announced cease-fire in Lebanon also gives Israel a propaganda edge. It need not be said that all too little attention has been paid to the escalating war on the Israeli-Lebanese border, which if allowed to go unchecked could explode into another major conflict. Facts about what is going on are slim. But reports from the scene suggest that Israel, by the support of the Lebanese Christians, encouraged the recent offensive against the Palestinian guerrillas with a view to safeguarding Israeli interests prior to implementation of a Lebanese plan for pacifying the entire southern region. By declaring a cease-fire, the Israelis now look to be the peacemakers.

The Arabs, meanwhile, are themselves trying to woo American opinion by appearing forthcoming. President Sadat has gone further than ever before in reaffirming Egypt's willingness to live in peace with Israel. And Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy has tried to sound as conciliatory as possible about Washington's latest Geneva proposal. Only the PLO Palestinians have repeatedly lost credibility in American eyes by refusing to accept Resolution 242 — a move which even would provide helpful diplomatic momentum despite Israel's intransigent stand on the PLO.

In short, positions do not appear to have altered very much. We do not wish to dismiss this latest initiative by Washington policy-makers out of hand. Perhaps it represents a crack in the door. Perhaps once PLO "sympathizers" appeared at Geneva in a unified Arab delegation — and the Israelis do not rule out such — the issue would be joined and there would be no turning back. Perhaps it is worth trying. But it would be imprudent and unrealistic not to recognize that, falling mora "give" by all sides than is evident so far — not only on procedural but substantive issues — the Geneva conference could easily bog down in rhetoric.

France's turned-off Marxists

For decades, the French have often been drawn to the philosophies of Karl Marx and other socialist thinkers. It is therefore worth noting that a group of youthful intellectuals in France has caused a national stir by assailing Marxism as an ideology that is obsolete and "monstrous" by its very nature. Their critique is all the more significant in light of the determined effort by Communists to come to power in France.

Labeled the "New Philosophers," many of the intellectuals were themselves once Marxists or Maoists. While not a cohesive group, they share a common theme: that the Left has long ignored the reality of the Soviet prison system, as described in Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago." One of the group, Bernard-Lucien Lévy, writes that the Russian state, instead of withering away as Marx predicted, has become a "reactionary machine."

These critics are not the first to judge Marxism by the standards of its practice. Millions of

Monday, October 3, 1977
"We can report some progress on coexistence and arms control"



Budget flying: here to stay?

Air travelers on both sides of the Atlantic are getting a real economic lift out of the initial first-come-first-served cut-rate airline service between Britain and the United States. The new "no frills" \$236 round-trip fares between New York and London are good news indeed for many a would-be traveler unable in the past to afford the regular \$328 "economy" fares of the major airlines. But two big unanswered questions remain: What will these new low fares mean to the future of the U.S. airline industry? Can the major airlines continue to compete with mavericks such as Laker Airways and their cheaper fares and still maintain the competent, dependable air transportation system Americans have come to expect?

These questions go to the heart of the airline deregulation debate now raging in Washington. President Carter along with numerous consumer groups and congressmen would like to see far less federal regulation of the airlines. Both the House and Senate are considering legislation that would not completely deregulate

the industry, but would relax government controls over fares, routes, entry into the industry, and other factors affecting the air carriers.

Proponents argue that fewer restrictions will not only lower fares, but also foster competition by permitting new smaller airlines such as Laker to enter the field, and provide greater flexibility for innovations in the industry. Ironically, most major airlines do not want the regulations lifted. They argue that greater competition will hurt smaller cities with less profitable routes and in the long run will require government subsidies to continue such service. Providing regular scheduled transportation nationwide has proved only marginally profitable to the airlines; they contend, and the proposed addition of new airlines will be extremely wasteful of energy.

The Kennedy-Cannon bill currently under consideration aims a reasonable approach. It would free carriers to lower or raise fares within a specified zone without interference from the government. This means that restraint on prices would be maintained, at least until competition between the carriers, rather than government formulas, would be a major determining factor.

In recent years, the major airlines have been losing vacation travelers to the cheaper charters, and with Laker's introduction of its "no frills" service last week, the scheduled airlines have responded by offering "standby" tickets for \$256. President Carter was right to overturn the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) ruling that had kept the airlines from competing with Laker's budget fares.

The 73 empty seats on Laker's inaugural flight from London, however, may indicate that lower fares alone will not necessarily fill all those half-empty planes on their Atlantic crossings. Certainly cheaper air transportation should proceed cautiously before entering the as yet uncharted waters of complete deregulation of what has become America's primary mode of long-distance travel.

We do not perceive much depth in this approach. But it is possible the New Philosophers will develop in more constructive directions as time goes along. Their intellectual wrestlings will be watched with interest.



Carter at UN: 'My country believes . . .'

Détente grows more cordiale

Why hostility is giving way to cooperation between U.S. and U.S.S.R.

By Joseph C. Herseb

Washington

The tone, the mood, and, above all, the emphasis in United States foreign policy marks this as being Phase 2 of the relationship between Jimmy Carter and the outside world.

In Phase 1 the emphasis was on defense of Moscow, human rights, and high morality. Today the emphasis is on the serious business of trying to settle the world's worst problems of the day and doing it in cooperation with Moscow when and where such cooperation may be possible.

The keynote in Phase 2 was indicated by a phrase from the President's Oct. 4 speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations. "The major powers," Mr. Carter said, "have a special responsibility. . . . There are only two major powers in the world. Mr. Carter recognizes that fact and is deep into several kinds of business with that other major power, the Soviet Union."

Most startling to anyone who had judged Carter foreign policy by the rhetoric of Phase 1 was a special joint Soviet-American statement on the Middle East. Instead of lecturing Moscow for its shortcomings in the department of human rights, here was a major act of collaboration between the two powers aimed at containing their differences of interests in the Middle East. Israel's worst the most startled. To them, this was reminiscent of 1956, when parallel Soviet-American action put a firm end to the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt and forced their armed forces back to their starting lines; and reminiscent of 1973, when joint Soviet-American action forced a cease-fire on Israel and robbed it (as Israel sees it) of the victory they were about to win.

A number of things were obviously being linked together. The joint statement on the Middle East emerged from the same talks at the White House that produced a substantial improvement in prospects for a SALT II agreement. Another part of what must be regarded as a "package" was a declaration in Washington to tone down the use of human rights against the Soviets of the gathering in Belgrade where implementation of the Helsinki declaration of 1975 is being reviewed.

Nation buckles under Carter's 'too much, too soon' programs

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Carter's "on the job" training has indeed been long and his staff that he should spend more time expounding his big programs. Mr. Carter has given the nation so much so fast in the way of complicated legislation: taxes, energy, environment, consumer protection, wage works, Panama Canal treaty and, finally, a major welfare bill.

It has produced a glut in Congress and some confusion in the country, complicated by the widespread Bert Lance affair.

Hamilton Jordan, assistant to the President, is going to do some expounding. He began with a press conference Sept. 29 devoted largely to energy. He has gone to the United Nations, and this month makes a Western swing, stopping in Detroit, Des Moines, Denver, and Los Angeles, among other places.

Mr. Carter will appear at Democratic fund-raising affairs and say nice things about several Democratic candidates, but he will not make partisan attacks on Republicans. In fact, he publicly says that he needs Republican votes in Congress, where they have sometimes

been as much as Democratic votes.

What he particularly wants is to explain why his programs that he has crammed

Soviets eye the skies for anniversary space show

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Question: What does a round space satellite now orbiting the earth have in common with a slender supersonic airliner soon to carry its first paying passengers?

Answer: both sport the red emblem of the hammer and sickle, and both are being whipped into service to enhance the Soviet Union's celebration of the 60th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. The anniversary is Nov. 7.

Both are designed, Soviet and Western engineers agree, to demonstrate as dramatically as possible the enormous advances Moscow has made since 1917.

Soviet sources here indicate that something spectacular is planned in space for Nov. 7, including cosmonauts walking in space outside the Salyut capsule and performing some kind of acrobatics.

Both Salyut and the TU-144 "Copendrake" are seen by Western analysts as genuine achievements, though the latest space station (Salyut 6, launched Sept. 26) represents a more solid success than the TU-144. It is felt.

The TU-144 still is something of a mystery to the West — and there still is some confusion here as to the exact details of the first passenger service, which is scheduled to begin Nov. 1.

To Soviet scientists, party workers, and flying affairs and say nice things about several Democratic candidates, but he will not make partisan attacks on Republicans. In fact, he publicly says that he needs Republican votes in Congress, where they have sometimes

been as much as Democratic votes.

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Moscow's mechanical men may march on the moon

By Kenneth Gailand
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London

The Soviet Union is more interested in putting mechanical puppets than men on the moon at this juncture.

"Indeed, there is no yet no sign that the Russians are planning to send humans to follow up past American landings on the moon."

"I see no reason for a prolonged stay by men on the moon," Soviet space scientist Georgy Fedor declared recently in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda.

But puppets or robots — that is another story, according to Mr. Fedor, who heads the Moscow Institute of Space Research.

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earth, launched 20 years ago (Oct. 4, 1957). The 20th anniversary of the Sputnik has just been celebrated here.

Predictably, the immense barrage of publicity here accentuates the positive. Omitted entirely are some of the setbacks along the way, such as abandoning the program to send cosmonauts to the moon after what Western

*Please turn to Page 13

Japanese play Beethoven and a German hotel becomes home

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn

Now that I'm in my new apartment I really appreciate the hotel.

It's not just that the post office is threatening to cut off my telephone until I confess how old I am on the change-of-phone-owner form. Or that I'll be reading by flashlight tonight because light fixtures are personal property, rather than apartment accoutrements, and left with the last occupant. Or that I'm blanketed because my chaise longue has not yet arrived from abroad. Or even that my water is turned off because a leak in the apartment below allegedly issues from my pipes.

No, what I'm nostalgic about, three hours after I left the hotel, is the companionship.

I'll miss racing the blind Adonis from the third floor to be the first one into the breakfast room and claim possession of the morning Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung. I'll miss the Japanese violinists who are earnestly practicing for a Beethoven Ninth in all Beethoven's Ninth — an open-air affair with massed youth orchestras from London, Tokyo, and some other world capital.

Above all, I'll miss the proprietors. They're young, but they preserve all the old traditions of German hostels.

Frau Michel always started the day by preparing the continental breakfast and serving it

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INTERVIEW WITH AUTHOR JOHN FOWLES

An Englishman who calls ideas his only motherland talks about England, America, his latest book, "Daniel Martin" and the class system.

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FOCUS

World fuel crisis: firewood

By Ian Sisale

Nairobi, Kenya

They call it the poor man's fuel crisis — and more than a billion people are said to be in its grip.

It is lack of firewood for cooking and heating in the developing third-world nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

So intense is the quest for firewood that it now consumes more and more of a poor family's time. For example:

In the once forested foothills of Nepal, the time spent in gathering firewood has grown from a few hours' work to a day's labor. Families in the African Sahel desert region spend up to 30 percent of their income on a few bundles of sticks to cook their food. Special police in India patrol the national parks arresting firewood poachers.

The fact is that around the globe the demand for firewood has outstripped nature's ability to regenerate it, and the crisis is on the increase.

According to Erik P. Eckholm of the Worldwatch Institute in Washington, 90 percent of the people in most poor countries rely on firewood as their chief source of energy, and at least half the world's timber is still used for cooking and heating fuel.

In the past two decades, Nepal's forest area has been reduced from 6.4 million hectares to 4.6 million hectares and studies indicate that more than 90 percent of the loss has been to peasants cutting firewood.

Firewood prices within the country have trebled in the past two years as people have been forced farther and farther afield to gather it.

In desert areas of Niger, Upper Volta, and Chad, camel and donkey caravans sometimes must travel more than 100 kilometers from the capitals in search of trees.

The peasant populations of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have turned to cow dung in the absence of wood. Mr. Eckholm estimates that between 300 and 400 million tons of dung is burned annually in India alone, robbing the farmland of one of its



Malaysian with much valued firewood

most valuable fertilizers. Indian scientists have worked for several decades on methods to reduce organic waste to methane, and many thousands of biogas plants are operating on the Indian subcontinent, in China and elsewhere. But scientists are still far from satisfied with

the economy of such alternatives.

At the United Nations Desertification Conference in Nairobi in September, optimism was expressed that, given sufficient money, technology was capable of solving the fuel crisis and arresting the erosion of soils caused by uncontrolled cutting of vegetation for fuel. But delegates to a science seminar on desertification in the same city were more cautious.

The scientists warned that the politicians had underestimated the human and economic costs of prevention and restoration and were overconfident about the adequacy and feasibility of existing technology.

The seminar coordinator, Dr. Joel Schechter, who was also head of the Israeli delegation to the UN Conference, said he was pessimistic about the future.

When asked if it was possible to grow trees quickly enough to keep up with world usage, he replied:

"I would doubt it. I would think we will not even be able to hold our own. If you look at any city in the arid zone of Africa, Asia, South America, and possibly North America as well, you will see around each village a completely denuded area in which the forest has been destroyed."

"We could start replanting these areas and bringing them back to production, but the major problem is that the population of these cities is growing so rapidly that it is difficult to believe we could keep up with both the reforestation and maintenance and at the same time provide firewood to these people."

Dr. Schechter did not believe there was a feasible alternative at present. "Solar energy is still not economically feasible, and wind energy is certainly not economically feasible," he said.

"The only thing that we could possibly get to them is some alternative energy in the form of gas or oil or perhaps briquettes which are imported, perhaps on a subsidized basis, from distant lands."

"But I do not see that planting trees by itself, which is certainly commendable and should be done, is a possibility to really solve the energy crisis."

Soviets rush U.S. Embassy to emigrate West

By David K. Willis

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Two dramatic incidents at the United States Embassy in Moscow have spotlighted anew the issues of emigration and human rights. In the first incident, a phalanx of 11 Soviet citizens, all from Soviet Georgia, rushed Soviet police guards on duty outside the embassy on the morning of Sept. 27.

The group intercepted five of them, but the six others got inside and refused point-blank to leave. All wanted to emigrate.

While the embassy contacted both Washington and the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the six wound up staying two days and two nights under the embassy roof — despite a U.S. rule that no one except American citizens can stay overnight on what is technically U.S. soil.

In the second case, a 79-year-old Lithuanian has sat with all his possessions in the consular waiting room for six weeks asking the U.S. Government to locate his wife and children in America. He says he has not seen them for 24 years.

And since the weather turned cold here, three weeks ago, he, too, has been sleeping in the embassy. Embassy officials have not had the heart to throw him out, rules or no rules. He has slept in out-of-the-way rooms, in corridors, and on the consular couch. Guards outside have carried him to his room and back to his couch, and have even helped him to the bathroom.

On Oct. 1, a State Department cable came in saying at long last his wife and one son had been found in Cicero, Illinois, and were sending for him. The old man wept for joy.

The two incidents illustrate some of the human drama that underlies the East-West debate over human rights in general and the right to free emigration in particular.

Western nations insist that emigration and other rights be included in the Final Act signed by 35 nations including the United States and the Soviet Union in Helsinki in 1975 after a lengthy conference on European security and cooperation.

Events since then are currently being reviewed in Belgrade by the

same nations. Moscow insists it has abided by all provisions of the Final Act but that the West has not. The West, including President Carter earlier this year, has charged Moscow with refusing to let dissidents emigrate.

The six Georgians who got into the embassy rushed through an archway and ended up in a ground-floor corridor where administrative offices are located.

The group this time consisted of a large family which claimed it was suffering repression in Georgia. It thought its troubles would be over if it could only get into the embassy grounds.

When it became clear that nothing short of physical violence would get them out, embassy officials began a series of contacts with Washington and with Soviet authorities. They tried to ensure that the six would be allowed to return to Georgia without harm.

On the night of Sept. 27, with the six sprawling out in the consular waiting room, the Lithuanian, Alexander Alexandrovich Skopas, shared with them the food he had brought. In past the same guards who had tried to keep them out.

Finally on Sept. 28, the six were driven in an embassy vehicle to Moscow railroad station. Their final fate is unknown; embassy officials did not accompany them into the station.

The embassy does plan to help the six with the paper work if they get the necessary documents and invitations to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

Meanwhile, Mr. Skopas has become a familiar figure around the consular waiting room. He has been there for weeks.

In an interview, he said in halting Russian that everyone had been very kind in letting him sleep on the couch and in helping him to get food.

Every day when told his family had not yet been located, he would mutter, "No, that's not true," and go back to the couch.

He really had faith, said one embassy official. Now that his wife and son have been found, it looks as though the faith will be rewarded.

Europe on 880 pints per day

Continent's water use soars; shortage seen

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Europe is heading for a serious shortage of water and must soon fashion a special program to conserve and develop future supplies. According to studies carried out for the United Nations by the European Economic Commission (EEC), the year 2000 will be a moment of danger for several countries with limited water resources and a steadily escalating demand for water.

They landlocked Luxembourg is the most threatened EEC country, with the Netherlands close behind. Between now and the end of the century, demand for water in Luxembourg will rise by 166 percent. In Holland, the predicted rise is 120 percent over the same period.

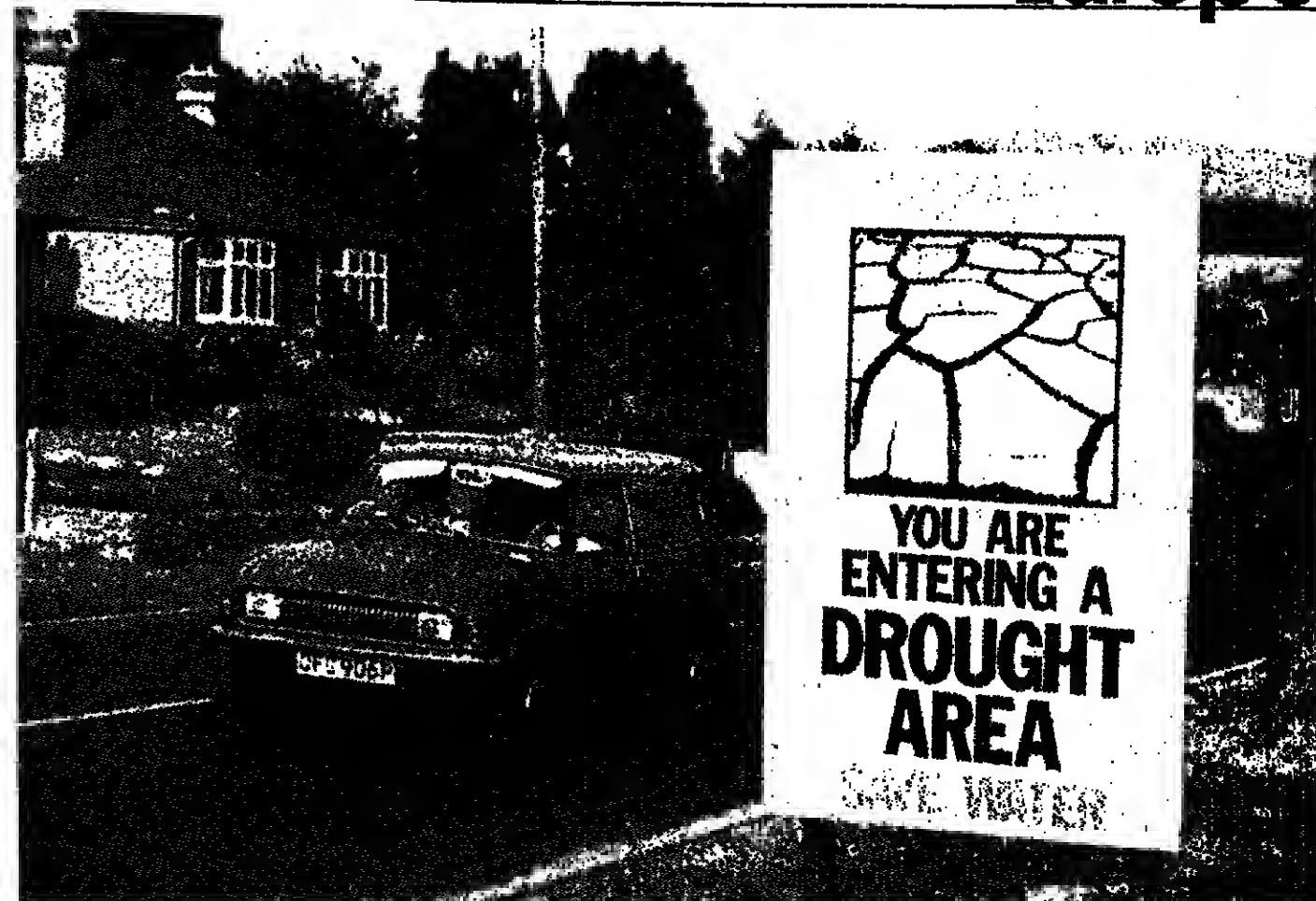
The situation is worrying enough for the European Commission already to be looking at the possibility of establishing a European water plan.

A Europe-wide approach is considered essential as the catchment area of the EEC is small compared with the population it has to support. Water already is scarcer in Europe than in the United States, where a catchment area six times larger serves 45 million fewer people.

Available water per capita in the EEC is less than a quarter of that in the United States and under a sixth of the Soviet Union's supply.

Taken overall, water consumption per capita in Europe is running at 880 pints a day, and the rate is rising as new industrial enterprises are established.

The problem is not helped by unpredictable seasonal rainfalls, as occurred in Britain last



Last year Britain faced a drought; this year growing water shortages in continental Europe cause concern

year when a serious drought threatened economic well-being and the ecological balance.

European hydrologists point out that average rainfall in the EEC very widely from country to country, with some enjoying four times the average and others a mere one tenth.

Ireland and the United Kingdom head the European table for rain, each with well over one meter per year, whereas Denmark has only 60 centimeters and no inflowing rivers to help restore reservoirs. Luxembourg is particularly hard-pressed because of its small catchment area and concentrated population.

Experts predict that in the EEC as a whole, water demand will double in the next 20 years.

Part of the problem of establishing a strategy to deal with future water needs is economic. Better housing and improved social services currently are soaking up investment funds that might otherwise go into new dams and reservoirs.

A comprehensive plan for the future probably also would have to include arrangements for massive water transfers from one country to another. On this basis, France, with its huge catchment area might help Belgium, and West Germany could help the Netherlands.

In addition, a European water plan would have to involve a blitz on pollution of water supplies caused by industry and farming dependent on the heavy use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

EEC studies have found that pollution actually is reducing available water supplies in and around the larger European cities.

In Brussels, where the latest studies are being evaluated, support is growing for a Europe-wide scheme of water conservation and development to be worked out by the early 1980s and put into effect quickly if a crisis is to be avoided.

Anti-terrorist law: did Bonn move too fast?

By Elizabeth Pound
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
Proponents of the new anti-terrorist law rushed through the West German Parliament last week call the law essential. They say that for society's protection the law must be brought

into crisis situations between imprisoned terrorists and suspects on the one hand, and the outside world on the other.

Opponents of the law warn, however, that an accused person's right to defend himself is jeopardized by provisions prohibiting contact between the accused person and his lawyer.

They argue that the law is vague and was passed under a kind of emotional contagion that precludes rational consid-

eration of legal consequences. They remind others of the 1930s, when the Weimar Republic let the Nazis take away individual rights piecemeal.

The legislation went into force Oct. 1, less than 72 hours after its first introduction into the Parliament. Under it, some 90 terrorist convicts and suspects now are being blocked from seeing their lawyers, according to Justice Minister Hans-Joachim Vogel.

The speedy blitz law was passed under a routine but rarely used provision in German parliamentary procedure.

In the past, however, blitz laws have been enacted only in emergencies, as in the 1973 oil crisis. Use of the extraordinary swift procedures to rush through an important criminal law was unprecedented, according to legislators.

The law permits the government to isolate prisoners — both convicted and suspects — under certain conditions. These conditions would involve threats to life, body, or freedom of a person when there is suspicion that the threat comes from a terrorist alliance.

The legislation was prompted by last month's unsolved kidnapping of West German industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer by left-wing anarchists. The abductors are holding Mr. Schleyer as hostage against the demanded release of 11 jailed terrorists and suspects.

Supporters of the new law — including all four parliamentary parties — argue that imprisoned terrorists have masterminded assassinations and kidnappings in the past and must be blocked from doing so again. A number of the terrorists' defense lawyers, they say, have been either active conspirators or messengers in these plots.

Supporters argue further that safeguards in the law are adequate. No trials, interrogations, or investigations of prisoners held in isolation would be continued during their isolation, unless the prisoner so requested. A maximum time limit of 30 days would be set on the isolation period, though this would be renewable.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has promised that after the Schleyer case is resolved, he will make public the documentation that will show the necessity for this legislation.

Under the current pressure to solve the Schleyer abduction and get tough with terrorists, opponents of the new legislation are few. Only four Social Democrats and Free Democrats abstained.

European cooperation

Helsinki nations tot up balance sheet

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Belgrade
The 35-nation review conference on détente in Europe, which opened here last Tuesday, is a marathon affair.

The rub comes, as delegates get down to detailed examination of how well the 1975 Helsinki declaration on European security and cooperation has been applied, particularly in the field of human rights.

Eight weeks have been allotted to five committees for this study. If by Dec. 22 the conference has not reached an agreement sketching a further stage of the Helsinki Final Act, the delegations will go home for a Christmas and New Year recess and return in January to "soldier on" until agreement is reached.

The Helsinki declaration in effect recognized Europe's post-World War II frontier — the status quo. Basket 1 of the declaration called for "confidence building" measures to strengthen political and military détente. Not much progress has been made here apart from one or two notifications of or invitations to observe troop maneuvers by either side.

Some headway under Basket 2 (economic and scientific cooperation) is evident. Several of the Communist states are now forming, over long-term ventures. — Including equidly and profit sharing — with Western companies. Poland and Hungary have developed wide-ranging relations with the United States and West Germany.

But the potentially explosive Basket 3 (human rights) is another story. There have been some improvements: increased Soviet Jewish emigration, cooperation by some East-bloc countries in reunification of families, or in such areas as granting visas and facilities to Western journalists. (East-bloc newsmen often meet with more delays over getting Western visas than the other way round.)

But the Soviet Union and, among its allies, Czechoslovakia remain coldly indifferent to Western views on the harsh treatment of dissidents and on attitudes toward civil liberties generally.

For their part, the Communists are resentful of what they regard as Western hypocrisy and attempts to meddle in their domestic affairs.

Both sides seem likely to play the same cool, at least while new moves between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over strategic arms, a comprehensive nuclear test ban (involving also Britain) and the Middle East appear to be going well.

Even so, whatever the restraint, it will be difficult to avoid a conflict and find some Western delegates talk of an "imbalance" or human rights that the Russians can be persuaded of expected to accept.

Participants in the conference are all the European states — except Albania — plus the United States and Canada. This except Albania — plus the United States, NATO, and the European Community, the Warsaw Pact countries led by the Soviet Union, the neutrals, and the nonaligned.

Europe

France: election campaign splinters old alliances

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The continuing split on France's Left has produced problems in an unexpected place: the strongly anti-Communist Gaullist party.

More than ever, the March 1978 election is shaping up to be a hard-fought four-way battle, with Gaullists competing against their partners, the supporters of President Giscard d'Estaing, and Socialists jockeying for support on the Left with the Communists.

The elections are particularly important for the Gaullists, who ruled France outright from 1958 to 1974, and who continue to control the government's parliamentary majority.

It is widely believed that the split between Socialists and Communists has taken much of the punch out of Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac's warnings about the danger of what he calls "social-communism." Two recent polls show the Gaullists' popular support suddenly slipping behind that of the once-small Republican Party, which was originally founded by

President Giscard d'Estaing and has recently been reorganized according to his directions.

Significant polls

The Gaullist slippage has called into question Mr. Chirac's decision to resign as prime minister just over one year ago and lead his party on a more independent course.

The two polls, both conducted by the Louis Harris Institute of France, give the Gaullists the support of only 20 to 21 percent of the voters who expressed an opinion. The Republicans get 22 percent and the two centrist parties, which also support the President, have 5 to 6 percent.

Perhaps just as interesting, the polls show the Socialists and Communists still have the support of a majority of French voters, despite their rancorous disagreement over how much economic and social change to carry out if they come to power. Both polls give the left 52 percent of voter support, down from its high of 54 percent, but still a clear majority.

A full 20 percent of those polled, however, remain undecided.

Leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties have been holding private discussions in an effort to reach some agreement on an updated version of the "common program" of government which united them for five years. Political observers are not ruling out the possibility that they will reach a compromise, either this month or later, as the elections near. But more and more, Socialist and Communist Party leaders have begun talking of a sort of common front, along the lines of the Popular Front which came to power in France in 1936.

Party negotiations

This would mean that the two parties, as well as several smaller left-wing parties, would hold negotiations to try to form a government if they win a majority control in Parliament, but would not offer the voters any government program in advance.

Supporters of President Giscard d'Estaing have begun increasingly to talk of their hope of luring the Socialists away from the Communists, isolating the Gaullists outside of power, and forming a Center-Left coalition with the Socialists.

One reformist political leader, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, has revealed that the Gaullists and Republicans are planning to cooperate with each other against the Gaullists in selecting candidates for primary elections.

But Socialist leader François Mitterrand has rejected any thought of abandoning the left-wing alliance, which he says he has been building since he ran for president against Charles de Gaulle in 1965.

He has threatened to exclude from the party any Socialist who makes a move toward cooperating with the centrist. Socialist leaders remember that their cooperation with centrist governments during the unstable post-war Fourth Republic led to the virtual destruction of the party. For now, Mr. Mitterrand appears to fear that more than the prospect of trying to govern with an uncooperative Communist Party.

Mr. Chirac and the Gaullists, meanwhile, are continuing to warn of the dangers of a government of the Left while at the same time criticizing the present government's management of France's stagnating economy.

Whale defenders switch oceans

Greenpeace aims to save rare species near Iceland

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

After three years of herring Soviet and Japanese whaling fleets in the Pacific, the ecological pressure group Greenpeace is swinging its attention to the North Atlantic.

The aim is to protect dwindling whale stocks in waters around Iceland and Norway by sending a trawler to the area and launching small boats with orders to position themselves between whalers and their quarry.

The 466-ton Sir William Hardy, moored near London, has been earmarked as the Greenpeace command vessel and a campaign is now under way in Europe to purchase it and have it ready for operation as soon as possible next year.

Like the campaign in the Pacific, Greenpeace's European crusade on behalf of whales is based on the conviction that too many whales are being slaughtered and that international conventions designed to protect species in danger of extinction are not working properly.

Jeopardizing the giant fin whale will be a prime target of the expedition vessel, but there are plans also to limit the killing of sperm, sei, and minke whales in North Sea waters.

When the Greenpeace vessel steams into an area where

whaling is taking place, rubber dinghies will be launched over the side, and crews will seek to get between whalers and whales and so prevent harpooning.

One of the organizers, Allen Thornton, says the method, though sometimes hazardous, has worked well in the Pacific. He says the operation will be in the form of a peaceful protest with no attempt on the part of Greenpeace to use violence or threats.

Worldwide, whales are being slaughtered at the rate of one every 20 minutes. There is a total ban on killing the giant blue whale, now down to a mere 1 or 2 percent of its original numbers.

The fin whale, second largest species still in existence, is under heavy pressure from whalers seeking its oil and other byproducts, all of which Greenpeace claims could be replaced by synthetics.

Earlier this year, the International Whaling Commission reduced by over one-third the number of whales that can be legally caught, bringing the permissible total down to under 18,000. Greenpeace thinks that figure is too high and wants a total moratorium on whaling for an extended period.

To back up claims that whales are being overexploited, the organizers of the new European campaign intend to have the command vessel carry a group of biologists who will conduct their own survey of whale stocks and catch rates.

The current legal limit for the North Atlantic is just under 4,000 a year, and if Greenpeace finds evidence of greater numbers being taken, it will lodge a complaint with the International Whaling Commission.



Tail of diving North Atlantic whale

How to stop everybody's big brother from listening in

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Venezia After four days of debate and some 80 conference papers, 250 delegates from 24 countries have found no agreement here on how they might protect their citizens from the newest threat to their privacy.

The occasion was a symposium Sept. 20-23 of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the international "transatlantic club" of nations. It sounded, however, as if the delegates had turned out to be far from that.

This was no East-West clash. No communists were here. OECD's members are the West Europeans, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. And debate among their delegations of government and business interests became an often sharply spoken, clear-cut divergence of views between the Americans and the Europeans.

Menace grows

The scenario emerged: The rapid growth of computer traffic gliding the world is building up into a serious menace—a threat to government and business institutions should official and commercial data fall into unauthorized hands, a threat to ordinary John Q. Citizen information on his private affairs should do likewise.

It all conjured up a disturbingly Orwellian picture with the state of one's finances, health, or other personal memorabilia being processed and stored away in some anonymous computer data "base" not necessarily in the country of its origin and available to all and sundry.

No agreement reached

That is, unless the nations can agree where to draw the line.

"There is a general fear," said conference organizer Hans-Peter Gassman, "that as more and more information is processed and stored, a country's vulnerability to action or sabotage beyond national control must grow."

"The flow of information through computers across national frontiers," said Austrian State Secretary Ernst Vasilek, "is a power factor that cannot be ignored." Much was said on the threatened further infringement of individual privacy.

"There was broad consensus about the wisdom of 'international harmonization' of safeguards, but no agreement on how the desirable harmony might be achieved."

A key issue is storage. "Foreign bases" in this context seems to involve a term as it is in the field of international détente and disarmament.

This far, almost all the sophisticated new data centers tend to be in the U.S. The West Europeans are apprehensive therefore that

given America's lead in computer technology, the tendency will build up to a virtual monopoly, giving the U.S. immense advantages.

Sweden and West Germany already have legislated to reduce the flow of information abroad. Other Europeans are about to do the same. Britain proposes very strict controls on personal data.

The problem, however, ranges beyond this intrusion issue. All governments as well as big business are interested in as free as possible a data flow between countries. American spokes-

men at the symposium were quick to claim that European economies could suffer if the advance of computer technology is impeded by overrestrictive laws.

Misgivings and suspicions were disclosed on both sides. The Americans were for virtually complete latitude, the Europeans for certain limits. There obviously is a strong European dislike for the concept of this mass of valuable information being processed and stored in some "foreign base," which almost certainly will be in the U.S.

Take-out meals from Maxim's

The House of Pierre Cardin and Maxim's Restaurant have come up with the ultimate in take-home food or TV dinners—a supper from Maxim's.

At the end of October the two companies will open the first Maxim's Boutique on the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré. The boutique will sell Maxim's food products, silverware, crystal glasses, other tableware.

Eventually the store will also provide precooked dishes straight out of Maxim's main kitchens on the Rue Royale.

At a news conference, Pierre Cardin, the celebrated high fashion designer who started the massive merchandising of French haute couture and its byproducts abroad, told reporters "it is a natural marriage, that of Cardin and Maxim's." He said that the two companies hope to open branch Maxim's boutiques in Tokyo, New York, and other major cities around the world.

Cardin exports clothes, perfumes, and accessories. He has designed everything from automobile interiors to prams, plates of Limoges porcelain, socks, chocolates, and furniture.

Soviet Union

How goes the revolution?

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Emerging here from a blaze of ceremony and publicity is something important for the rest of the world to study, Western analysts here believe—the Soviet leadership's own official portrait of its country after 60 years.

The portrait is one of a proud society well on the way to overcoming a legacy of exploitive capitalism, ready to admit some shortcomings, a land of law and freedom, beset by hostile class enemies but nonetheless an inspiring example for countries around the globe.

It is a self-confident image, backed by military strength which many experts in Europe and the United States consider is either equal to or in some ways surpassing that of the United States and NATO.

At the same time, various other facets of today's Soviet leadership also are on display as the Supreme Soviet (legislature) works this week on redefining the new state constitution.

The pride is mixed with a striking degree of defensiveness.

Rebuttal of criticism

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev went out of his way at the opening of the Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin Oct. 4 to rebut specific points of criticism about the con-

sultation raised in the West—even as he favorably compared Soviet society to what he called the rights of capitalist countries.

Among these, he said with irony, are the right to go jobless, pay high medical costs, suffer discrimination, and see young people educated by the media and by films in a spirit of selfishness, cruelty, and violence.

Mr. Brezhnev also underscored the dominant role of the Communist Party, which many critics as offsetting to a degree the new stress on law and legality as embodied in the new constitution.

The Soviet leadership sees no contradiction: trying to separate the party from the people, Mr. Brezhnev said (to a round of applause), is like trying to separate the heart from the body.

Freedom of discussion?

While Soviet leaders try to impress upon the world that their society involves almost every citizen in the government (140 million adults discussed the new constitution and submitted 400,000 ideas for amendments, Mr. Brezhnev said), critics reply that citizens can only discuss what the party tells them to—and along lines the party prescribes.

Again, leaders see this as a necessary part of achieving what Mr. Brezhnev describes as a developed, mature stage of socialism. This stage is on the road to pure communism, but leaders concede much

work remains before communism itself can be achieved.

The Soviets see themselves as the world model for underdeveloped nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—and it is this broad challenge, combined with Eurocommunism in Western Europe, that forms both a basic Kremlin attack weapon and a stern test for the West.

Mr. Brezhnev was definite as to what today's Soviet Union could not allow into its new constitution—and as he spoke he gave a revealing glimpse into Soviet life today.

Emphasis on liming

The time has not yet come, he said, to introduce equal wages for all work, wages and pensions based solely on seniority, an abolition of the farmer's private plots, whittled-down rights for the individual Soviet republics and nationalities, or a takeover of all government functions by the party.

Of course, anyone who profiteers from a private plot should be disciplined, he said, but this was not a matter for the constitution. Lenin said the party should guide the state, not administer the state—and Lenin would be obeyed.

As for other amendment suggestions, Mr. Brezhnev approved their spirit but urged state authorities to handle them in regular channels. These included demands to polish some of the most obvious shortcomings on



Brezhnev: 'no contradiction'

the Soviet scene: laziness on the job, and excessive drinking (mostly of powerful vodka).

As Western analysts have pointed out, one main difference between the Soviet and Western constitutions (and between the Soviet Union and other countries) is that here, rights exist only if specifically granted by the state.

Elsewhere, rights are often held to be inherent and constitutions lay out what a state cannot do to infringe them.

Rough ride for the bourgeois boatman

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Engine roaring, bow up, stern down, delighted passengers nunched down against the spray, the motorboat zooms across the water. Behind it, a boiling wake of controversy:

In the motor too loud? Is it polluting the water? Is the speed too great for the comfort of nearby sail- and rowboats?

The scene, and the argument, is familiar enough in the bourgeois pleasure spots of San Diego, or Long Island, or the Great Lakes.

But in the sternly socialist Soviet Union?

Yes, indeed. The cacophony of powerboating has come to be heard from the Gulf of Finland to the Caspian Sea, and in the Volga and hundreds of other rivers in between.

Where's the gasoline?

Yet this onrush of capitalist pleasure-seeking has brought a host of new problems, quite apart from noise, pollution, and speed.

Where, for example, is the intrepid Soviet powerboater to get enough gasoline for his 10-20, or 30-horsepower outboard motor?

A correspondent of the government news paper Izvestia reported recently that dozens of boat owners flag down gasoline trucks along the Volga. At 3 or 4 rubles a liter (\$4 to \$5.50), gasoline flows generously. The money flows into the truck drivers' own pockets.

Not one single gasoline pump for small boats exists along the central Volga, the correspondent reported. A boat needs 40 to 50 liters of fuel (10.6 to 13.2 U.S. gallons) for two days—and there are 150,000 inboard and outboard motorboats in the central Volga alone.

Another question: Where are the powerboats to be safely moored—and stored for the fast-approaching winter?

The Soviet Commercial Bulletin noted early in the summer that 60 percent of all pleasure boats in the Russian Federation (by far the largest republic in the Soviet Union) lacked permanent, legal moorings. That meant 400,000 boats were without a place to stay, the Bulletin said. It put the total number of craft in the federation at 813,000.



The Volga boatman?

Meanwhile, other arguments continue, even as the memory of one of the hottest summers on record in the European zone of the U.S.S.R. fades into the first autumns of autumn (four furies so far in Moscow).

A debate in the national Literary Gazette pits those who would limit engines to 12 h.p. against others who would be much more airtight. Writers lament that Soviet boaters seem to thirst after still more power and speed, regardless of sailors and rowers left rocking behind them.

Bigger, better

Yet a recent edition of the weakly supplement of Izvestia carried a plan for bigger and better powerboats—from the head of the Soviet Federation of Water Skiers.

The federation has just joined the World Water Ski Union.

And the rush to buy more boats goes on. Sales rose eight times between 1965 and 1975, the Commercial Bulletin reports.

In Moscow, one young designer was so carried away that he constructed a large powerboat in his single apartment-house room. But it was too large, and he had to commandeer a crane to swing the finished boat out through his window. He lived on the fourth floor.

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United Nations

Carter waves one hand to Soviets and soothes Israel's ruffled feathers with the other

By David Anahle
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"His Excellency, Mr. Jimmy Carter," used his major policy address to the UN General Assembly to set out his ideas on how to control the world's spiraling armaments, nuclear and conventional.

But the President's speech to the representatives of 140 countries here Oct. 4 also:

• Appeared to reach out toward the Soviet Union. The speech made several references to sharing the world's leadership. It evoked all but one passing reference to human "aspirations." And it emphasized points of agreement and cooperation with Moscow from arms control to the Middle East.

"Power is now widely shared among many nations with different cultures, histories, and aspirations," he said. "The question is whether we will allow our differences to defeat us or

whether we will work together to realize our common hopes for peace."

• Attempted to clarify the administration's position on the Middle East in the wake of seething Israeli and Jewish resentment to the joint Soviet-American statement of Oct. 1 on Geneva peace talks.

The President balanced Israel's right to exist in full peace within recognized and secure borders with recognition of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." But, he emphasized, "We do not intend to impose from the outside a settlement on the nations of the Middle East."

Finally, by spending two days here, Oct. 4-5, after already visiting the UN early in his presidency (March 17), Mr. Carter underscored his commitment to this world forum and his sensitivity to the feelings of the multitude of smaller developing countries that take the UN extremely seriously.

Saying that global security could not forever rest on a balance of terror, the President de-

clared that the U.S. and the Soviet Union were "within sight" of a significant agreement on limiting strategic arms. The U.S., he went on, is willing to go as far as its security would allow in limiting and reducing nuclear weapons — "on a reciprocal basis, we are willing now to reduce them by 10 percent, or 20 percent, even 50 percent."

The President also made a formal declaration of the long-standing position that the U.S. would use nuclear weapons only for self-defense.

Reminding his audience that the U.S., Britain, and the Soviet Union had restarted this week their Geneva negotiations on a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions, he repeated the American position that any agreement must be verifiable and fair as well as covering all explosions, military or supposedly peaceful.

He reserved some of his strongest words for nuclear proliferation. "I deeply believe that this is one of the greatest challenges that we

face in the next quarter of a century," he said. Nations that export nuclear fuels and technologies, he added, have a double obligation: to meet legitimate energy needs; yet also to ensure that nothing they exported contributed directly or indirectly to the production of explosives. He called upon the 15-nation Nuclear Suppliers Conference to work out comprehensive safeguards for nuclear exports.

Turning to conventional arms, Mr. Carter reminded his international and domestic TV audience that the countries of the world spend 80 times as much money equipping each soldier as educating each child. He repeated the U.S. aim of reducing both "the quantity and deadliness" of the weapons it sells. "We have already taken the first few steps," he said. "But we cannot go very far alone."

After briefly urging all countries, especially South Africa, to support the transition to black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South-West Africa), the President spelled out in some detail the American position on the Middle East.

On the one hand he attempted to reassure the Israelis by emphasizing that the basis for peace remained the two long-standing UN Security Council resolutions (242 and 338) under which previous negotiations have been conducted. He also spoke of "binding Israel" (in Israeli demand), the need for recognized and secure borders, and the right of all countries in the area to "exist in peace with early establishment of normal diplomatic relations, economic and cultural exchanges" — the sort of definition of peace that Israel insists on.

Mr. Carter's specific rejection of any imposed settlement was presumably aimed at its assuring jittery Israelis who felt the recent joint Soviet-American statement on Geneva presaged precisely that. But the President also carefully specified that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people "must be recognized."



By a staff photographer
UN Building, New York

Carter's symbolic signature

By David Anahle
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
United Nations, N.Y.

President Carter handled the prickly subject of human rights with a certain deftness during his two-day visit here. That, at least, is the opinion of a number of diplomats observing his whirlwind New York appearance.

They see his signing of two human rights covenants Oct. 5 as of "great symbolic importance." Although it does not have any practical effect until the covenants are ratified by the Senate in the unforeseeable future, the move does tend to consolidate the international political gains already made by the Carter administration in this field.

At the same time, by scarcely mentioning human rights in his major policy speech here the day before, Mr. Carter managed to avoid trampling on Soviet sensitivities or upsetting a discernable warming trend in Soviet-American relations. In effect, he has had his cake and eaten it.

All this is in dramatic contrast to the President's first appearance here last March 17. In his speech to the UN delegates then, he hammered home his human rights theme with wholehearted relish. It was a basic commitment, he thundered, not just a political posture. And he went on to outline, to the tune of frequent applause, how the UN should reform its ponderous and largely ineffective human rights machinery.

The central core of the UN's human rights philosophy, apart from the UN Charter itself, is embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly in December, 1948. Based essentially on Western values, it covers a great swath of rights all the way from nondiscrimi-

nation in race, religion, sex, and political opinion to the right to property, education, culture, choice of employment, and equal pay.

The two covenants signed by President Carter flow directly from the Universal Declaration and are its legal embodiment. They are the "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights."

American officials predict a "tough fight" to get either ratified by Congress "because of feelings of nationalism and sovereignty." The Congress so far has never ratified any such international rights covenants.

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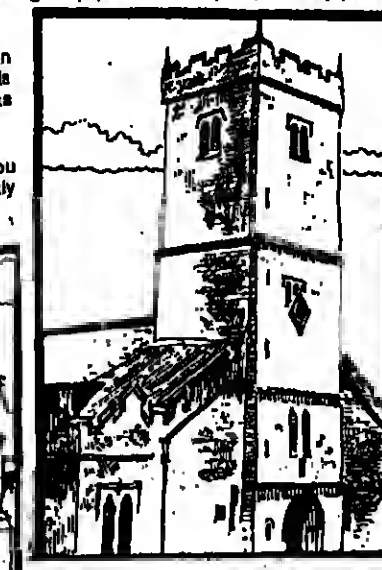


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United States

Supreme Court picks its cases

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Picking its issues gingerly, the United States Supreme Court, by its first actions of the new session, shows a willingness to be drawn into some major controversies — such as solicitation of clients by lawyers — but a strong reluctance to get into others, such as homosexuality rights.

The first orders issued in the court's new term also showed the justices avoiding a new controversy over former President Richard Nixon's White House tapes and an old controversy over school busing.

And the court agreed to target its own filing deadlines to allow the Carter administration to join the Bakke case late. That case may lead to a historic decision on "reverse discrimination" in public programs.

The court followed up its decision last term allowing lawyers to do some advertising by agreeing to decide whether lawyers may try to drum up business in person or by letter.

Such solicitation of law business is forbidden by the lawyer's ethical code, and some attorneys refer to solicitation as "ambulance chasing."

The outcome of the court's final decision on cases from Ohio and South Carolina probably will influence heavily the future of the legal profession.

The newspaper business also will be influenced in a major way by the final decision the court reaches on ownership of television and radio stations by newspapers.

A federal appeals court in Washington ruled last March that the Federal Communications Commission must adopt a rule that would force newspapers to surrender ownership of

broadcast properties in the same cities. If that rule ultimately were adopted, 145 radio stations, and 65 TV stations in 130 communities across the country.

The cases accepted by the court will be decided before the new term ends next June.

The most significant issue bypassed by the justices is whether public school teachers who are homosexuals can keep their jobs.

Singer Anita Bryant's crusade against homosexuality has focused primarily on homosexuality among public school staff members.

Two test cases taken to the court offered the justices an opportunity to decide on the constitutionality of dismissing a teacher solely because he or she acknowledges being homosexual.

Only two justices, William J. Brennan Jr. and Thurgood Marshall, voted to hear appeals in the test cases from Tacoma, Washington, and Pomona, New Jersey.

Among other questions that failed to get the votes of four justices were the right of former President Nixon to resist demands for disclosure of his tapes in civil court cases and the power of the federal judge to order a city-suburban desegregation plan for schools in the Wilmington, Delaware, area.

Mr. Nixon had filed a new appeal to try to protect his tape recordings and other White House materials from being seized for use in federal courts.

Increasingly, lawyers pursuing cases against the government based on actions of the Nixon administration have demanded disclosure of the tapes' contents.

Apparently, that kind of demand may now go forward because Mr. Nixon's appeal failed.

Carter's trouble spots

By Geoffrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
State Democratic and Republican political leaders around the United States indicate President Carter's chief problems in terms of public approval are these:

• The black community. While the President has assuaged complaints from black leaders with recent reassurances that help for the jobless is on the way, there remains a considerable amount of questioning among blacks as to whether Mr. Carter actually will "deliver" on his campaign promises for the poor and underprivileged.

• The American Jewish community. There is a growing unhappiness among American Jews over what is perceived as the anti-Israel thrust of the Carter "evenhanded" policy in the Mideast.

While Jewish leaders have been reassured by both the President and Vice-President that the U.S. in effect, is

guaranteeing the existence of Israel, there is increasing anxiety being expressed among U.S. Jews over the President's insistence that the Palestinians be allowed participation, in some form or another, in talks about a settlement in the Mideast.

• The labor force. Here, again, Mr. Carter has softened the sharp edge of criticism coming from some labor leaders — most importantly, that from AFL-CIO president George Meany — by throwing his support behind legislation they are seeking.

But Monitor checks with politicians at the state level all around the country also show that the highly visible signs of new unemployment — in steel and television production, for example — have been raising the anxieties of blue-collar workers everywhere.

• The farmer. Those who earn their living from agriculture in the vast farm areas of the Corn Belt and Great Plains have never warmed up completely to Mr. Carter — or so it seems.

This was evident in the last election, when Mr. Carter did not fare at all well in these areas against President Ford who, himself, was not too popular with these voters.

Many farmers, politicians in their states say, generally are unhappy with the economy — feeling that they are not getting enough for their products while prices for the equipment and supplies they must buy keep soaring.

And since farmers tend to blame presidents for their economic woes, Mr. Carter is increasingly being perceived in the hinterlands as something less than the farmer's friend.

• The business community. There has been an uncertainty among businessmen about their prospects ever since Mr. Carter was elected. This uncertainty has been reflected, at least in part, in the way the stock market has been acting.

The President, particularly through the effective liaison work of Bert Lance, was doing much to reassure those who run the nation's business.

But now, with Mr. Lance gone, many businessmen are wondering who will be Mr. Carter's chief economic adviser.

Will it be someone, like Mr. Lance, who was believed to have been highly influential in reinforcing the President's inclination for balancing the budget? Or, the businessmen ask, will it be someone who will be trying to influence the President to spend more and think less of budget balancing?

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United States

Gifts for Christmas knights

There's nothing like armor for making a dent in society

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Washington
That clanking and creaking you hear in the distance is this year's trendiest new Christmas present, a 75-pound suit of Tudor armor, complete with broadsword and chain mace, for \$4,000.

While it may sound like part of the latest film from Monty Python's Flying Circus, the American Express Company, which introduces the armor in its new Christmas catalog, is quite serious about it.

The suit of armor in question is fashioned in what's known as Greenleaf style, after the Tower of London armorer who fitted Henry VIII. The suit includes greaves (lower leg armor), poleyns (knee covers), cuisses (thigh over rump), tassets (hip guards), and of course, lower armors of vambrace, or forearm protectors. You wear it over a leather jacket and tight trousers.

Ptolemy line

"It's a collector's item, and a high percentage of our card members are men who are collectors," says a spokesman for American Express in New York. "It's a kind of status thing. A lot of people with large, wealthy homes like to have it standing around in the corner" to impress friends.

The steel suits are handmade in England by one of the world's few practicing armorers, an Oxfordshire man whose name conjures up Egyptian dynasties, Tony Ptolemy. But they are ordered by phone from Arizona. You simply call and ask for the Armor Tailoring Service, which discreetly asks you for a series of measurements, including the length from your wrist to the tip of your longest finger, the back of your knee to the bottom of your heel, and chest measurement. The measurements are so specific that either sex could order the armor - even a Joan of Arc with a "credit card."

It's a little stiff

So far, however, all the requests, about a dozen of them, have come in from men in their 30s - "young men on their way up," as a spokesman in the Arizona order office says. Most of the orders are from people in California, Texas, and Florida, who plan to prop them up on their wooden display stands with personalized brass plates. But one buyer plans to wear his for what the Arizona spokesman describes as "a weird joke."

"It's movable, but a little stiff. You can walk in it with ease," says the New York American Express spokesman. The suit is made of non-stainless steel with brass applique decorations and lined with a sturdy fabric. It comes heavily oiled and packed in crates for shipping.

There is one customer who doesn't want just your standard Western European armor of the 1500s in seven sections with 150 separate handmade components including 100 moving parts. He wants a Spanish Inquisition suit of armor, and American Express is exploring that possibility with Mr. Ptolemy. In general, however, the company does not expect to expand its armor line.

Unfortunately, American Express requests that customers allow four months for delivery, so Christmas arrival is improbable. One other thing: The armor is not returnable.

Foreign competition puts Americans out of work

By Harry D. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Jobs for Americans - how to create new ones, how to preserve those that exist - is a top priority for the Carter administration, Congress, and the U.S. labor movement, as thousands of workers are laid off because of foreign competition.

In the past few weeks more than 10,000 Americans in at least eight states have been told by the U.S. Department of Labor they are eligible for special help, because they have lost their jobs due to imports.

These certifications, most of which concern steelworkers but also people who make garments and TV sets, came before the Zenith Radio Corporation announced it was laying off 5,000 workers and shifting its color TV components business overseas.

The list of "import impacted" workers, in other words, is growing, prompting U.S. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal to promise a "beefing up" of adjustment assistance, "including help to U.S. firms to restructure themselves."

Cash assistance to laid-off workers amounts, under present law, to 70 percent of average weekly pay, up to 52 weeks, with an additional 26 weeks if coupled with approved retraining programs.

Mr. Blumenthal draws a distinction between "unfair competition," including dumping and tax rebates by foreign governments to their exporters, and "structural" problems, which have priced some segments of the U.S. shoe, clothing, television manufacturing, and steel industries out of the market.

He pledges strict enforcement of U.S. laws

against unfair trade practices by foreigners. More difficult to combat are structural weaknesses within American industry.

To minimize job loss in affected industries the U.S., through White House trade representative Robert S. Strauss, has forged "orderly marketing agreements" (OMAs) with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, limiting shipments of TV sets and low-cost shoes.

Mr. Strauss, while rejecting quotas on imported steel, says some form of OMA with foreign steel producers may be needed, to give U.S. steelmakers time to adjust to changing market conditions. A "multidepartmental" government group, headed by Treasury Undersecretary Anthony Solomon, has been set up to study steel industry problems.

Stripped to its essentials, the government's program to offset adverse effects of imports to the U.S. include:

- Help to workers thrown out of jobs - not only cash to tide them over, but retraining and, where necessary, relocation help.

- A problem here is that a majority of affected workers, particularly in the shoe industry, are middle-aged or older and find it hard to pull up roots. Thus cash payments can be stretched out to 78 weeks for workers over 60.

- Negotiate OMAs with foreign governments, to ease the job-loss impact while restructuring threatened businesses.

Investment, notes Courtney M. Slater, chief economist of the U.S. Commerce Department, should, where possible, be steered away from "declining industries" and into growth areas.

At the other end of the worker scale - unskilled young Americans who never have held a steady job - the government is developing a Job Corps Center program.

Africa

Rhodesia now, Zimbabwe in 1978?

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Brighton, England
A peaceful transition to independence under black majority rule before the end of 1978 - that is the inducement a sober-faced Foreign Secretary David Owen holds out to black leaders fighting guerrilla wars against Prime Minister Ian Smith's white-supremacy Rhodesian government.

The timetable proposed by the Anglo-American package proposals presented to the United Nations would lead to an independent Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) "far more quickly than even the most optimistic supporters of the armed struggle think," Dr. Owen said. The Foreign Secretary was reporting to a Young Pabian's group on the eve of the Labour Party's annual conference here Oct. 3-7.

The Anglo-American package Dr. Owen took with him to the United Nations included a major concession to the guerrillas: the future army of an independent Zimbabwe would be based on the "liberation forces" although it also would include elements of forces now fighting for the Smith regime.

It could not be otherwise, Dr. Owen told his mainly young, mainly sympathetic audience: no African leader he met would trust an independence based on the Smith armed force.

During the six-months transitional period envisaged under the Anglo-American plan, Britain's Field Marshal Lord Carver would serve as resident commissioner and the Union Jack special representative would serve alongside Lord Carver and a United Nations peace-keeping force would help to maintain law and order.

Dr. Owen said he would not go back to the United Nations to ask for a final mandate on this step until he was "as confident as I can be" that law and order would be maintained and free and fair elections could be held.

Practical agreements between military commanders on the ground to secure and police a cease-fire would be "absolutely essential," Dr. Owen said. So was a general amnesty which would allow the new Zimbabwe to start with a clean slate, even though such a step "would stretch the charity of a great many people on both sides."

Dr. Owen paid generous tribute to the United States role in seeking a solution, not only in Rhodesia but in southern Africa as a whole. British efforts to impose UN sanctions against Rhodesia had been ineffective, he indicated, partly because one of the chief sanction-breakers had been the United States (because of its imports of Rhodesian chrome).

But under President Carter, the United States had become a

"superpower prepared to champion human rights, whether in Communist countries, fascist countries, or in dealing with racialism. That has given us the muscle we needed," Dr. Owen said. And since Mr. Carter was going to be president for at least four years, possibly eight, "I believe this is a historic change," he added.

Dr. Owen said he did not underestimate the difficulties of trying to build a Zimbabwe army that would not be regarded as the personal army of a particular presidential candidate. He mentioned no names but he was obviously thinking of the deep divisions between African nationalist leaders such as Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, and the Rev. Ndabengwe Sithole. Some people thought Britain should not even try.

But Dr. Owen said he had talked to Lord Carver about this, and he thought that the six-months transitional period could be used for this purpose.

On Namibia (South-West Africa), Dr. Owen was confident that independence could be achieved by the end of 1978.

South Africa was an altogether different matter, he continued. The goal was to end apartheid and the various discriminatory laws which had many frustrated blacks to conclude that armed struggle was the only weapon they had left.

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SHOPS MONITOR ADVERTISERS

Gun control held up

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
White House preoccupation with Bort Lance, energy, and the Panama Canal already appears to have claimed one prominent victim among current legislation: gun control.

The Carter administration's proposed legislative initiative to curb the proliferation of handguns - sent to the President by the Department of Justice more than two months ago - has had its unveiling postponed until the next session of Congress early next year, the Monitor has learned.

The proposal may make its belated debut at the time of a presidential election message in January or February.

A Justice official handling the gun-control draft legislation confirms the delay, but says it reflects "no judgment" on the merits of the plan or a retreat from the administration's announced intention of seeking firm restrictions on private handguns.

But postponing the Carter gun-control initiative until 1978 could heighten the political challenge facing it by dropping this always-volatile issue on Congress in a congressional election year.

Gun-control proponents, although disappointed over the postponement, warn the White House's crowded calendar rather than any slackening of its commitment.

"It's a question of timing, not substance," says one gun-control lobbyist who had a hand in drafting the proposal, Charles J. O'Grady of the National Council to Control Handguns. "There has just been too much going on."

A delegation of lobbyists for gun owners also

came away from a recent meeting with White House staff members carrying the impression that gun control had been shoved aside for the present into a lower priority.

"It seems to be on the back burner," reports John M. Snyder of the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

But another member of the pro-gun delegation, Morgan Norval of the Firearms Lobby of America, adds: "I think they've already made up their minds" for strong handgun curbs.

"It may be more difficult in an election year to get things going," concedes Mr. O'Grady of the gun-control council.

Gun-owner groups welcome the delay for the same reason. "It always helps us to highlight the issue in an election year," says Mr. Snyder.

The draft proposal, said to be in all-but-finished legislative form and cleared by all affected federal agencies, reportedly is patterned on the relatively moderate gun-control bill passed by the House Judiciary Committee last year, (and broadly by the Senate in preceding years).

Key provisions: a ban on the manufacture, assembly, and sale of the cheap, poorly constructed, and easily concealed handguns known as "Saturday night specials"; a "cooling off" period between the sale and delivery of a handgun; a limit of one handgun purchase per month for private citizens; a boost in license fees for gun dealers to squeeze out frivolous suppliers; new controls on noncommercial handgun transfers.

Most of these features echo campaign proposals by Mr. Carter, the first President since Lyndon B. Johnson to flatly endorse handgun controls.

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Looking longingly westward — from high in Johannesburg's modern Carlton Center

South Africa's love-hate relationship with America

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg — The South African Government's attitude toward the United States is one of love-hate — and at the moment its mood toward Americans reflects the bitterness of a rejected suitor.

Outraged and odd-man-out in the international arena almost more than any other country in the noncommunist world because of its race policies at home, South Africa has persistently wooed the West, and particularly the U.S. It points to what it sees as a community of interest with the West — anti-communism, a dazzling wealth of mineral resources, an impressive defense capability, and the need to contain the Soviet threat to the Cape route — which it believes should dictate an open association. But so far to no avail.

After the shock to the U.S. from the Soviet-Cuban success in Angola, Prime Minister John Vorster thought that American policy was moving in his direction with then Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's initiatives in southern African diplomacy. As the South African Government saw it, the South Africans, the Americans, and the British had found a community of interest in wanting the same ends in Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa). Those were in both countries an orderly and orderly transfer of power to moderate governments which had the support of the black majority. South Africa would do its best to expedite this in return for sympathy and understanding, if not support, from the U.S. and Britain.

Mr. Vorster told this writer in August that things had been moving forward until the change of administration in Washington in January, but that the arrival of President Carter in the White House had meant "we had to start from the beginning again." Apparently the biggest shock came from Mr. Vorster's meeting with Vice President Walter F. Mondale in Vienna in May, which left the impression that under the Carter administration the U.S. was not going to reward South Africa for being helpful over Rhodesia and Namibia by refraining from pressure for early political change in South Africa itself in favor of the black majority here.

Since then, Mr. Vorster and other Afrikaner leaders have been saying defiantly that they will not yield to any pressure from outside — meaning particularly the United States — to change the system they have installed to preserve Afrikaner identity and culture in South Africa. This, Mr. Vorster said, is "absolutely not negotiable."

He and his Cabinet ministers have had valuable forums in recent weeks for their bold statements: the provincial caucuses of the ruling National Party. Patriotic defiance is a sure vote-getter among the majority of the only South Africans who have the vote: the white

minority. "Do your damnedest!" said the Prime Minister in late August. And only a week later: "We shall not lie down. We will not be pushed over."

A point made to this writer by Mr. Vorster and his Cabinet ministers was that Mr. Carter and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young were fundamentally mistaken in seeing similarities between American blacks in the South and Africans in South Africa. They gave a variety of reasons, but the one most persistently offered was that blacks in the Americas South were always a minority whereas blacks in South Africa were an overwhelming majority. So, it was argued, pressure from the Carter administration on South Africa for radical political change in favor of blacks was in effect "an invitation to commit suicide to avoid being murdered."

The suggestion was often made that Mr. Carter felt obliged to put pressure on South Africa in order to repay what was seen as his political debt to American blacks, for having

CRISIS in SOUTH AFRICA

played such an important part in his election. Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger had an additional explanation. American blacks, he contended, had been roused by the television showing of Alex Haley's "Roots" to a need to strike out against whites. But their numerical disadvantage in the U.S. had made it clear to them that they could do nothing effective in the U.S. itself. So they were putting pressure on the Carter administration to act vicariously for them by striking out against the whites in South Africa.

Mr. Kruger also saw a (to him) disturbing similarity between the black consciousness movement in South Africa and the black consciousness movement in South Africa. He quoted approvingly from an appeal to him from Credo Mutwa, a black South African who supports South African Government policy (and has had his house in Soweto destroyed by fellow blacks because of his sympathies).

Mr. Mutwa, according to Mr. Kruger, claimed to have seen in the U.S. "black consciousness in all its ugliness." There, he quoted Mr. Mutwa as writing, race relations were so bad that blacks and whites could do nothing to get together. Blacks kept relics of the slave days in their homes and ate grits "to keep their hatred burning."

Gerrit Viljoen, rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and reputed head of the influential secret Afrikaner organization, the Broederbond, spoke of the hostility of influential whites in the U.S. "who want to drive us into the ground."

Most South African blacks, on the other hand, have quite a different view. They think that the U.S. is holding back from any effective pressure on the South African Government for political changes giving meaningful rights to blacks. Steve Biko, a key figure in the black consciousness movement, who died in detention Sept. 12, told this writer before he was re-arrested in August that there had been "lots of good talk from the Carter administration without any demonstrable shift in U.S. policy."

An associate of Mr. Biko said that in fact and in contacts with black consciousness leaders, Americans had shown "a certain white arrogance" by implying that any black consciousness program would not be valid unless drawn up in conjunction with whites.

What irritates politically active black South Africans is the apparent considerable U.S. and other Western investment in South Africa. (This, however, is private not government investment — at least in the case of the U.S. Many big American firms are represented in South Africa, most notably the oil companies and automobile manufacturers.)

Direct U.S. investment runs at about \$1.5 billion, roughly equivalent to the figure for West Germany. British investment stands at over \$4 billion. The other big industrial power of the non-Communist world, Japan, is also present — but not directly. The Japanese, recognizing the international embarrassment that can follow investment in South Africa, have avoided direct investment and operate through franchisees.

The policy of the U.S. Government at the present time on American investment in South Africa is neutral: It neither encourages nor discourages it. Such investment is in fact at a virtual standstill, except for the mining industries. This stagnation stems from the growing political uncertainty hanging over South Africa as a result of the intermittent racial disturbances since the first outbreak of trouble in Soweto in June 1976.

South African government leaders are reluctant to accept that the U.S. Government is not behind this fall-off in American business interest in South Africa. But one Cabinet minister did concede to this writer that internal political uncertainty within South Africa was one of the major causes, adding that this was resulting in some financial leaders calling for the South African Government to get even tougher with the black protest movement.

The area where private U.S. investment continues active — mining — is a tempting one. Few countries are as richly endowed with minerals as South Africa. It produces more than 70 percent of the world's gold and (if Namibia is included) 80 percent of the world's gem diamonds. It has 30 percent of the world's reserves of uranium, 15 percent of the world's reserves of coal, about 60 percent of the world's reserves of chrome, 14 percent of the world's proven asbestos reserves, the world's largest deposits of fluorspar, the world's sixth largest deposits of nickel and is the world's largest producer and exporter of platinum.

(Significantly, South African Defense Minister P. W. Botha writes in the preface to this year's Defense White Paper (the defense budget): "The mineral resources of the Republic of South Africa are of the utmost importance to the West.")

In the mineral field, the country's Achilles heel is petroleum. Its search for oil of its own has produced no significant result so far. But it has plenty of coal and is pressing ahead with coal gasification and nuclear power plant. Gasoline produced from coal is on sale at the pump.

The country's main petroleum supplier is Iran, a country more willing than other petroleum producers to be an odd-man-out like South Africa itself. This dependence on petroleum imports explains the Government's circumspect sensitivity to reports that the Western powers may be considering a petroleum embargo on South Africa to get Mr. Vorster to apply pressure on Rhodesia Prime Minister Ian Smith to accept the latest Anglo-American proposals for a transfer of political power from whites to blacks in Rhodesia.

Which brings one back to the question of the effectiveness of U.S. pressure on South Africa. If applied, a distinction must be made between pressure to affect South African policy on Rhodesia — which is more likely to work, provided it is skillfully applied to achieve a result with which South Africa can be persuaded it can live — and pressure to produce radical change in South Africa's race policies at home. Whether or not this can be effective is a subject of debate.

A leading English-language newspaper editor deplored to this writer what he saw as the Carter administration's crude pressure on Prime Minister Vorster, beginning with the Mondale encounter in Vienna. The result of that, the editor argued, was to force Mr. Vorster to his heels in and knock down suggestions from some of his more liberal (by Afrikaner standards) colleagues for softening the harsh edges of the government's tough race policies.

Famous South African writer Alan Paton was cautious. Although an outspoken critic of Afrikaner policies, he had reservations about too much or too crude American pressure.

Another critic of Afrikaner race policy, C. R. Beyers Naude — an Afrikaner himself and a distinguished churchman who has broken with the mainstream of Afrikaner thinking and theology — argues for American pressure, understandingly applied. He says the U.S. should make it clear it really wants to be with the Afrikaners, but that it cannot be while the Afrikaners' race policies are so manifestly suicidal (for the survival of Afrikanerdom) and constitute the single biggest force to promote Marxism and communism in South Africa.

What in a series of six. Next week: What will happen to South Africa?

Interview with head of Afrikaners, secret Broederbond

By Juoc Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg — One of the most influential voices of Afrikanerdom has called for something to be done urgently to ease the crisis between Prime Minister John Vorster's Afrikaner government and the black nationalism symbolized by the word Soweto, the name of the vast black township outside Johannesburg.

The voice is that of Gerrit Viljoen, rector of Rand Afrikaans University here. That prestigious post gives him importance. But even more important is the fact that Prof. Viljoen is head of the secret and influential Broederbond, an organization which has shaped Afrikaner thinking and political action since the days of

World War I. (Afrikaners are those white South Africans of mainly Dutch descent who, in effect, control the country today.)

Part of the something which must be done, Dr. Viljoen said in an exclusive interview, is to remove the officials who have mishandled the urban black situation.

[Reports of this interview have already been picked up by South African newspapers. After reading them Dr. Viljoen told the local press that the Monitor report has telescoped two of his ideas, giving the impression he thought government officials should be removed. He said this was wrong. However, in a phone call Dr. Viljoen said he understood how that interpretation could have been reached from the interview. He said the Monitor's bona fides were still good as far as he was concerned.]

Dr. Viljoen said that his view about removing officials is shared by six or seven Cabinet ministers. He said the situation in Soweto "is high priority, extremely high priority."

The confrontation between authorities and blacks in Soweto deepened when 331 schoolteachers, including 12 principals, officially resigned from their posts until the present inferior system of black education is abolished.

Also, detentions of blacks reportedly were continuing around the country, and Minister of Justice and Police Jimmy Kruger warned on television that "terrorists" are returning to South Africa "around the clock" after getting training outside.

Dr. Viljoen also suggested "a kind of forum for discussion" should be launched that could involve the entire African subcontinent, including Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi, and independent Namibia, as well as the Transkei and the semi-independent black homelands within South Africa.

Describing such a plan as "a sort of Common Market organization" or "a parallel of the old British Commonwealth system," Dr. Viljoen said that perhaps there would be ways to could be brought into such negotiations.

He said perhaps urban blacks "could link with representatives of the tribal homelands." Dr. Viljoen was scheduled to meet late last week with Ntsho Motlana, a physician, and head of Soweto's Committee of Ten who have put forward a plan of self-government for the township.

Saying that his broader idea for "international negotiations" was his own personal opinion, he added, "I think there is a strong need for imaginative and long-term initiatives... bearing in mind the reality of economic and security interdependence" in the African subcontinent.

When asked whether the most prominent homeland leader, Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, might not find Dr. Viljoen's "international negotiations" acceptable, Dr. Viljoen said, "If one could offer him [Chief Buthelezi] a more viable future pattern for his homeland, the thing might change. He's got a point that Kwa-Zulu (the Zulu homeland) is not viable."

When it was suggested that maybe the new South African port of Richards Bay might be given to the KwaZulu homeland, Dr. Viljoen said: "Yes, for instance."

Dr. Viljoen noted that an act of Parliament last year "that went almost unnoticed" provided that homelands such as KwaZulu would be granted a semi-independent status eventually. This act apparently was designed to get around the refusal by Chief Buthelezi to accept independence from the South African Government.

Dr. Viljoen said that he thought that Prime Minister Vorster called national elections for Nov. 30 because he "wanted a clear mandate" to do two things: (1) break away from discrimination; and (2) carry out his new constitutional plans.

The Prime Minister "may contemplate more drastic measures on the external front" [on Rhodesia and South-West Africa], Dr. Viljoen added.

He noted that the new constitutional plan (a complicated plan — which some people think means white power-sharing with Coloureds [people of mixed race] and Indians, but not with blacks) — was surprisingly approved by the National Party caucuses around South Africa. He pointed out that party caucuses are very conservative Afrikaner bodies "always attended by people who have time free and who are usually more elderly. The same is true at Dutch Reformed Church meetings," he added.

Dr. Viljoen detected "an improvement of criticism" toward South Africa in the United States. But he said there exists "a hostile side" in the U.S., "very violent elements" who want to destroy the whites in South Africa.

Dr. Viljoen spoke eloquently about criticism. He paraphrased the "greatest Afrikaner author" — as he called him — N. P. van Wyk Louw who in the early 1940s wrote an essay called "Kultuur en Kriek." Mr. van Wyk Louw talked about the gardener (the critic) who dug deep to remove a plant but who "cut the roots with his spade instead of loosening the soil" around the roots.

Dr. Viljoen stressed that what South Africa needs is constructive criticism to break down Afrikaner resistance.

"We try to avoid a one-nation viewpoint of the world—to get across that all men, women, and children do live under the same roof...that faraway events can have immediate impact everywhere."

Takashi Oka
Chief European Correspondent
The Christian Science Monitor



Takashi Oka is perhaps the most international member of the Monitor staff. Born and reared in Japan and now an American citizen, he has served as the paper's resident correspondent in Hong Kong, Saigon, Moscow, Paris, and New London.

Since college, he has perceptively and sympathetically observed all races and conditions of men. He began his journalistic career with the Monitor in 1964 after graduate work at Harvard. And ever since — except for his three-year stint with the New York Times as Tokyo bureau chief — the Monitor has been enriched by his cultural breadth and international perspective.

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South Africa arrests another black journalist

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg — Yet another black South African journalist has been arrested under Section 6 of the country's Terrorism Act. He is Enoch Duma who worked for the white-owned Johannesburg Sunday Times.

Mr. Duma was picked up at his home in Soweto, the black township outside Johannesburg, late last month and, under the provisions of the Terrorism Act, is being held incommunicado. He can speak neither to a lawyer nor to his family, and he has not been charged. Section 6 of the act allows for indefinite detention without challenge from the courts.

Whether or not Mr. Duma is subsequently charged, his case reflects what is happening in South Africa. For Mr. Duma is a mild-mannered man who had become distressed at the polarization between black and white in South Africa — and it is against such that the authorities are moving more and more.

For most whites living in South Africa, the country's security laws are distant decrees. They seldom know anyone touched by the laws, partly because most whites know blacks only in a job situation where the major survival role usually applies.

This correspondent knows Mr. Duma well, having met him first when he was working on a short internship at The Christian Science Monitor in Boston in early 1976.

Since then I have come to know Mr. Duma and his family — "my five lovely girls," as he called them — while living in Johannesburg.

Mr. Duma had expressed concern to several people that police might detain him because,

as a journalist, the youth of Soweto had confided in him.

In fact, Mr. Duma related that he had been asked by Col. J. Visser at Protea police station, near Soweto, to provide information to the government about young black protesters. Mr. Duma refused, and was heard to refuse by a friend of his.

Mr. Duma's case is significant because he is representative of the middle-aged, better-off urban black South African parent, with a conservative desire for stability in order to improve the lot of his children.

Mr. Duma is not like the youth of Soweto who have become almost fearless in their political protests. Those young people, many of whom have been in detention and who say that torture there is routine, are in their 20s and have no families.

Mr. Duma is the typical parent of Soweto, increasingly trapped.

The last time I saw him Sept. 13, Mr. Duma said he felt he was getting cornered by the polarizing society. He was most concerned about his wife, Kitty, and their four girls.

He wondered what would happen when the entire educational system broke down — as is already happening in Soweto. He said he worried that Barbara — the oldest girl who is very close to her father and who has excelled in school — would grow up without a real education.

Mr. Duma told me that last year when black youth were dying in protests against the system of racial segregation in South Africa, Barbara had once called him an Uncle Tom.

"She's got spunk," is the way Mr. Duma then boomerangingly described Barbara.

Mrs. Duma said Barbara wept after her father was taken away by the police with his hands handcuffed behind him — "as if he was a murderer," Mrs. Duma said bitterly.

Middle East

U.S. and Soviets cooperate in Mideast peacemaking

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
By joining forces in the quest for peace in the Middle East, the United States and the Soviet Union have greatly enhanced the leverage they can bring to bear on the parties to the decade-long conflict in this area.

U.S.-Soviet cooperation could, in the view of some U.S. experts here on the Middle East, become an "irresistible force" in bringing the Arabs and Israelis closer together on the terms of a settlement. And, at the very least, it seems to breathe new life into efforts to convene a Geneva conference on the Middle East — if not this year then perhaps next year.

For both the Americans and the Soviets, who already are co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, there is much to be gained from working together on the problem. If the Soviets can be seen in cooperation with the Americans, it would be a constructive way, it will greatly ease for President Carter the difficult task of bringing pressure to bear on Israel while at the same time coping with opposition from the powerful Israeli lobby in the U.S. Congress.

For the Soviets, it will mean re-entry into active Middle East diplomacy after being on the sidelines for several years. U.S.-Soviet cooperation also enhances the U.S.S.R.'s chances of re-establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, broken in 1967, so that the Soviets can talk with all sides of the conflict before any renewed peace conference.

Perhaps most important in the long run for both the Americans and the Soviets, working together to solve the Middle East problem could prove to be a powerful force for the strengthening of détente in all their relations.

For Israel, the danger now may be in finding itself isolated — with the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Arabs moving along the same lines in their thinking on what a peace conference and settlement should consist of.

The U.S.-Soviet statement on guidelines for peace in the Middle East, issued in New York on Oct. 1, does offer Israel a Soviet pledge to work toward the establishment of "normal peaceful relations" among the states in the region — and that marks a Soviet concession to the Israeli desire for "real peace" and not just an "end to the state of belligerency."

But on the Palestinian issue, the United States seems to have come down more emphatically than ever before in favor of Palestinian participation both in full-scale negotiations and in the final settlement. The U.S. has in effect rejected Israel's proposal that the Palestinians appear only at the opening of the peace conference.

The U.S.-Soviet statement of Oct. 1 seems to mark a turning point away from the Middle East diplomacy of former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger was mistrustful of attempts to reach a "comprehensive" settlement, such as the joint statement takes as its goal, and he feared that bringing the Soviets into the mainstream of the negotiating process, in the early stages, at least, might prove more disruptive than constructive.

Warnings along these same lines have emerged from other quarters in Washington in recent days.

And there is yet another concern fairly widely shared by Middle East experts; namely, that in its haste to get the parties to Geneva, the U.S. may be increasing the chances of a rapid deterioration in the situation should that peace conference fail. But the answer some U.S. diplomats have to this seems to be that Geneva is needed to keep the "peace process" going — or to maintain "momentum" — and that if no conference is in sight, the stability of "moderate" Arab regimes wedded to the process will be endangered.



Awaiting Israeli clearance, Allenby Bridge

Palestinians: hapless stumbling block to peace

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

ation should that peace conference fail. But the answer some U.S. diplomats have to this seems to be that Geneva is needed to keep the "peace process" going — or to maintain "momentum" — and that if no conference is in sight, the stability of "moderate" Arab regimes wedded to the process will be endangered.

Israel pins Geneva hopes to Dayan-Carter talks

By Jason Morris
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel
The unprecedented crisis that threatened to destroy the traditional though unwritten alliance between Israel and the United States subsided somewhat Oct. 5 amid reports that a diplomatic breakthrough had been achieved in talks in New York.

Details of an agreement worked out in a marathon session Oct. 4-5 between U.S. President Carter, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance,

and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan were still under wraps at this writing. But officials here hinted that Israel's basic requirements had been satisfied.

Concurrence required

These were described as the need to base a resumed Geneva peace conference on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 — not mentioned in the U.S.-Soviet communiqué that started Israel Oct. 1 — and agreement on a formula to admit the Palestinians to Geneva without including representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

Authoritative Israeli sources assumed that the U.S. undertook to attend by the Israeli-American memorandum of understanding on the basis of which Israel evacuated the Sinai oil fields and passed two years ago.

The memorandum specified that there would be no changes in the makeup of the Geneva conference unless all the parties concurred in them. Israel argues that this effectively excludes the PLO.

By reaffirming the two Security Council resolutions, Mr. Carter, Secretary of State Vance, and Foreign Minister Dayan threw the diplomatic ball into the court of the Arab states, Israeli sources say.

Israel considers it procedurally impossible for the PLO to participate in Geneva inasmuch as it has not endorsed Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory and peace negotiations between the belligerents.

Resolution 338, which derives from 242 and was adopted after the October, 1973, war, called for a cease-fire and the convening of a peace conference.

Dialogue could begin
If in the interval preceding Geneva's resumption the PLO should accept resolutions 242 and 338, the U.S. would begin a dialogue with its representatives and eventually might advocate PLO entry into the negotiations, as Israel understands it.

But that is looking into the unknown and unpredictable — unless Mr. Carter and Secretary Vance already have secret assurances from Arab leaders that the PLO is on the verge of endorsing the two key resolutions.

The difficulty faced by the PLO in accepting 242 is the implication that this would entail recognition of the state of Israel.

Israeli experts would not predict how the Arab adversaries would react to the U.S. guidelines for reconvening the Geneva conference.

However, Jamil Hamed, ex-editor of the Arabic daily El-Fajr, termed the guidelines a setback for the militant Palestinians.

Debate was cancelled

On the other hand, Israel's willingness to include non-PLO Palestinians in the Geneva conference's opening session, and to accept them as members of Jordan's delegation remains intact.

The fact that Israel's Knesset (Parliament) cancelled a political debate scheduled for Oct. 6 indicated that the Labor and Democratic Movement for Change opposition parties were not prepared to challenge the commitments the Foreign Minister made in New York.

If the Israeli Cabinet ratifies the Carter-Vance-Dayan formula, which it seemed certain to do, the way might be cleared in Geneva, possibly by the end of the year.

American Jews expected to 'confront' Carter

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The long expected confrontation between President Carter and the "pro-Israel lobby" may now be looming.

The joint U.S.-Soviet move to resolve the Middle East conflict seem to be bringing on this confrontation between the President and the organized Jewish community and its friends in the U.S. Congress.

"The crunch is coming," said a State Department official concerned with Middle East affairs. "This is it."

Israel, and many of its friends in the United States consider the U.S.-Soviet statement of Oct. 1 on guidelines for peace in the Middle East a document heavily tilted in favor of the Arabs. They point out, among other things, that the joint statement speaks of "Palestinian rights" — and not of Palestinian "interests," the State Department terminology in the past. This is interpreted as U.S. endorsement of the idea of creating a Palestinian state on territory now occupied by the Israelis.

The document also makes no mention of formal "peace treaties," something which Israel insists be a part of a settlement.

"The Israelis feel they've been betrayed," said a well-placed member of one of the leading groups in the organized Jewish community.

in the United States. "And probably the Jewish community feels betrayed as well."

He declined to define what a "confrontation" with the Carter administration might consist of at this stage but predicted "heavy criticism" of its Middle East moves from a wide range of senators and congressmen, including both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans.

However, this same well-placed source, who asked not to be identified, dismissed speculation that the strong reaction against Mr. Carter's move in the Middle East would have any effect on the U.S. position. "The members of Congress to vote against Mr. Carter on other issues such as Panama."

"No link can be made, will be made, or has been made," this source said.

State Department sources said that in responding to criticism and questioning from congressmen and from the Israeli "lobby," the administration would point out that the U.S.-Soviet statement speaks of "Palestinian rights" only in the context of the achievement of a final and complete settlement of the Middle East conflict.

"And, they say, it also should be noted that the Soviets made a concession to Israel in agreeing to work toward the establishment of 'normal peaceful relations' among the states in the region — thus responding to the Israeli desire for 'real peace' and a 'normalization' of relations."

In New York, at the United Nations, U.S.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told reporters Oct. 3 that Israel, rather than being upset, should be "gratified" with the way in which the U.S.-Soviet statement defines the nature of the peace to be achieved in a final settlement.

State Department officials also say in response to criticism of U.S. actions to bring the Soviets into Middle East peace moves, that if all the parties want to work things out at a reconvened Geneva peace conference, the Soviets, as co-chairmen of the conference, must be brought into the negotiating process. Israel, they note, has expressed a strong desire to go to Geneva — and to do most of the negotiating at the conference, not before it.

One of the most prominent members of the organized Jewish community, J. L. (Bibi) Kahn, retired executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), told senators at a Middle East hearing Oct. 3 that it was a grave mistake to bring the Soviets into the mainstream of the negotiating process.

AIPAC, an umbrella lobbying group, is sometimes referred to as the "granddaddy" of Jewish lobbying. "Israel apparently views the powerful 'Israeli lobby' in the United States as a counterweight to the Arabs' oil power." But in the past, its influence on the Congress has often exceeded anything the Arabs could mobilize.

*Nation buckles under 'too much too soon' program

into Congress. Congress is almost staggering under their weight. The energy filibuster has slowed everything down, and the hope of re-opening this month seems to be receding.

White House aide Jordan acknowledged the other day that Mr. Carter put unrealistic deadlines on getting his big legislative program through, specifically the energy program. The White House has done a "better job," he said, telling the public of the need for welfare reform and for tax legislation.

Mr. Carter will have a telephone question-and-answer session along the way on his Western trip, expounding his programs and expounding his personality to public view, perhaps to recoup ground lost in the row over former Budget Director Lance.

Diverse observers see the Carter administration suffering from a common complaint of

new presidents who arrive on the scene with sweeping legislative proposals. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., associated with the Kennedy administration, writes in the Wall Street Journal: "The manifest failure of the Carter presidency so far has been in the realm of public education. . . ." Fredrick Smith, New York Times Washington bureau chief, thinks the big White House error on energy was overconfidence.

All indications are that the White House reached the same conclusions before they surfaced in print, but that it was tripped by the battle to defend Mr. Lance.

"As you know, I've never served in Washington before January," Mr. Carter told a group of editors here Sept. 18. "I've got a lot to learn about the processes. . . ."

Mr. Carter acknowledges that he may not

have been explaining his programs sufficiently. He began his latest (Sept. 29) meeting with the media with the comment:

"After the last press conference I had an uneasy feeling that I had not adequately covered the questions about energy and some foreign affairs, so I thought we would have another press conference fairly soon after that one."

The Carter campaign promise of twice-a-month press conferences has been met. With his big legislative program hanging fire in Congress he now is thought apt to use other avenues for reaching the public. He staged a Washington "Spectacular" in signing the new Panama Canal accord. His forthcoming overseas trip will keep attention centered on him as the national leader.

Now a major new controversy surges up — the Arab-Israeli dispute over whether the

United States should collaborate with the Soviet Union in trying to achieve a Palestinian homeland as part of a prospective Mideast peace agreement.

One surprise here is that Mr. Carter has held so few so-called "fireside chats" to explain new programs. He originally expounded his energy program to a joint session of Congress April 20. The heart of it, he said, "is that our demand for fuel keeps rising more quickly than our production." He reiterated this recently: "With every passing day our energy problems become more severe."

Mr. Carter has been ranking out programs since he took office, but the job of selling the programs has lagged. In a government constrained around the presidency, his place in history may depend on his ability to get his assorted messages across as he starts a new drive at public campaigning.

*Moscow's mechanical men may march on the moon

He foresees "a manned circumlunar orbital station with a set of automatic devices — 'mechanical puppets' — capable of descending to the lunar surface to conduct suitable investigations there and come back."

This also would allow robot inspection of the side of the moon which is permanently hidden from the earth.

The next few years, therefore, may see more Lunokhods (radio-controlled wheeled robots) running over the surface of the moon to bring back soil samples for study — and similar robots on Mars seeking final resolution of the question of life on that planet.

The Soviet Union remains keenly interested in Mars, despite a long series of space probe failures aimed at the so-called "red planet."

"Sooner or later," says Mr. Petrov, "man

will set foot on that planet. But first we should answer the question of whether there is life on Mars. I believe that delivery of soil from the planet is the way forward here."

These statements, says a Soviet commentator, are fully in accord with Soviet space policy, which always has maintained that more information can be obtained for less effort by using automatic vehicles than by sending men.

Another Soviet target for an automatic explorer, the commentator said, was the giant planet Jupiter.

Such subjects were matters for comment as Western space scientists visited Moscow for celebrations marking the 28th anniversary of Sputnik 1, which heralded the dawn of the space age on Oct. 4, 1957.

The Russians, meanwhile, have fallen behind

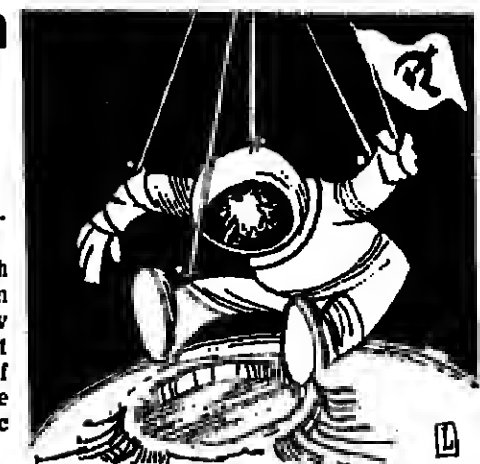
in their plans to launch new cosmonauts into space. Delegates attending the 28th Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, which opened in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on Sept. 26, believe the cause is related to new research equipment being prepared for long-duration missions aboard Salyut space stations.

Earlier this year, cosmonaut Pavel Popovich was predicting a long-duration space mission beginning this summer, but the launch window came and went without result. Instead, Salyut 5, which had been visited by two teams of Soyuz cosmonauts, was made to re-enter the atmosphere. It burned up over the Pacific Ocean on Aug. 8.

In the meantime, it has been confirmed by Western tracking stations that the "mystery" spacecraft Cosmos 929, launched from the Tyuratam cosmodrome in Central Asia on July 17, is probably an unmanned test of a new vehicle related to the Salyut program. It appears to have been launched by the big Proton booster.

The Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough, England, says this vehicle has been maneuvered several times by Soviet mission control. On Aug. 26 it was swinging round the Earth in 90.78 minutes at a height of 312 and 318 kilometers. Strong signals have been picked up similar to those of the Soyuz and Salyut spacecraft, according to the Space Observation Group at Kettering, England.

These developments apart, there is much



talk in Prague of the coming utility of space stations for industrial purposes.

The theme of the IAF Congress this year is "Using Space, Today and Tomorrow," and Russian delegates have been speaking of the future prospects for space factories.

A pioneer in these studies is the Ukrainian Institute of Electric Welding in Kiev.

Much of the group's most advanced work is devoted to the design of semiautomated equipment for use in microgravity conditions in orbit.

Ultimately, the group expects to use a solar furnace in a future Russian space station to make new alloys, semi-conductors, and other materials in orbit.

*Détente grows more cordiale

The news of the week discloses an interesting fact about today's world. The most unsettled place is the Middle East. The next most unsettled is southern Africa. The most dangerous arms race is between American and Soviet missiles. If the Middle East and Africa

Southeast Asia is not happy. But no one is trying to upset it. Europe has its involved problems. But the frontiers are all accepted and stable.

Settlements in the Middle East and southern Africa and between Moscow and Washington over SALT II and the Indian Ocean would not bring about a millennium. And before they are settled, other problems may arise. But if all the diplomatic work in hand today were to be completely successful, we would be nearer a more settled and stable world than the human race has known for many centuries. One thoughtful diplomat remarked that it would be the best thing since the days of the Roman Empire.

Commentary

Very settled and a good SALT II achieved, this world would be about as stable as any historian could remember.

True, there is tension along the Chinese-Soviet border. But neither Moscow nor Peking is seriously thinking about war. The situation in

*Soviets eye the skies

space years ago.

Also mentioned: the long-drawn-out problems with the TU-144, including the crash of the model at the Paris air show in 1973 which killed six on board and several on the ground.

However, the successes of the Soviet space program are undoubted. Western experts agree. They include pioneering work in orbiting satellites, flights to and orbits of Venus and Mars, and a successful Lunokhod program which explores the moon with unmanned robot vehicles and has returned samples of lunar material drilled out from a depth of about six feet.

The Soviets also are thought to be working hard on military uses of space, including surveillance of the United States and other Western nations through specially designed cameras on satellites. This work likewise is noted from news reports here. U.S. officials, including Defense Secretary Harold Brown, are concerned at the Soviet ability to knock out U.S. spy satellites.

While the Soviet cosmonaut has walked on the moon, six two-man teams have worked in Salyut space stations while orbiting the earth. The Soviet record for men staying in space is 84 days.

The U.S. record is 54 days. There is speculation that a new cosmonaut team may try to beat the record on Salyut 6 in honor of the

anniversary.

Moreover, the U.S. stands to learn from the ongoing Soviet space program. The U.S. is not sending anyone into space until the early 1980s when the space shuttle will begin flying to and from orbiting skylabs. Washington, meanwhile, is anxious to gain all it can from accumulating Soviet experience. So far, U.S. officials say they are happy with the way Moscow is sharing its findings.

The supersonic TU-144 is at long last about to carry passengers, though it is hardly comparable to the Anglo-French Concorde. Western experts say.

Once a week

According to the military newspaper Red Star, the TU-144 will fly the 1,944 mile distance from Moscow to Alma-Ata (the capital of Kazakhstan) once a week. In contrast, British Airways and Air France fly their Concorde much more regularly, with the longest Air France run being more than 2,700 miles.

The TU-144 has been trying to solve problems with stability (it has tilted a set of canards, or fins, to keep stability at low speeds) and with angles that gulp too much fuel.

No indications exist that Moscow plans to fly its planes abroad, heightening the belief here that the new passenger flights are intended mainly for 6th anniversary prestige purposes.

It is not even known how many TU-144s exist. Western estimates range up to ten.

*Japanese make hotel a home

personally to each patron. Herr Michel began by sweeping the sidewalk and street in front of the hotel until they were spotless. Both were cheerful about opening the front door for guests who had forgotten to take their key with them. Both were tolerant of foreigners' German and flexible in deciphering our utterances.

A slight pause, and Herr Michel would deduce from my request for a "bath" (bathroom) that I wanted a bath mat. Frau Michel would realize, when I asked for the "handlbar" to the tub instead of the proper "bathtub," that I was after the hot-water faucet handle that was kept in the front desk to insure an accurate count of patrons' three-mark (\$1.30) baths.

Even the cleaning woman was collection of guests. She waited until the last minute every day to dust my room and fluff up my feather quilt so as not to disturb my reading. On the Saturday I bought 19 roses for a mark when the flower vendors were closing out their stalls she produced a vase for me.

When my hairdryer and TV exceeded the number of electrical plugs, she installed a multi-

uple socket in the room. (She did not, however, manage to find a 100-watt light bulb with a nonscrew, bayonet mount when all the stores I visited also failed to stock this relic from the early years of Bonn's electrification.)

To be sure, in my new apartment I have some company too. The man who rents my garage has dropped by to consult me about payment. The housewife downstairs has solicited my extra key in case the plumbers come again sometime when I am absent. And those two plumbers are sitting in my bathroom right now hammering on my pipes.

But still, it's not the same. The Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung just isn't as fascinating when I buy it myself and read it in solitude. The drone of barges on the Rhine doesn't substitute for the "Ode to Joy" rendered by violin. My eggs and pan-fried toast can't hold a candle to Frau Michel's bakery. Bratichok and apple jam.

There's only one solution. Once a month — if I can get a reservation — I'll have to treat myself to an overnight stay at the hotel.

More work, more pay — in Peking

A major article in a recent People's Daily, the Communist Party organ, dissected what it called the socialist principle "to each according to his work" and said that former ultra-left opposition to this was "idealism run wild."

Everyone, it said, must work. The only exceptions were those who have lost the ability to work and those who have not yet reached the age for work.

"More work, more pay; less work, less pay. He who does not work, neither shall he eat." To the masses of laboring people who were exploited in the past, this is a great liberation and fundamental emancipation. It is a new thing which only surfaces in a socialist society," the article said.

home



James and Mary Pleut examine a carved bird mask from Java, just one of hundreds of craft objects in their Massachusetts home. Photos by Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Couple creates a market for craftsmen of the world

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
When James S. Pleut retired a year ago as secretary general of the World Crafts Council, he decided to tackle an international craft-marketing project quite as thrilling as any assignment he had undertaken in his long career in the field of design.

He has launched, as a retirement project, a nonprofit organization called Aid to Artisans, Inc., to facilitate the marketing of crafts produced throughout the world by disadvantaged artisans. His wife, Mary, is working with him at the project's headquarters at 84 Industrial Way, Wilmington, Massachusetts. And he has attracted a group of officers and directors to his fledgling organization who have the know-how and expertise to help make it work.

Mr. Pleut himself has been among other things, an instructor in fine arts at Harvard University, director of the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, vice-president of Old Sturbridge Village, and consultant to Corning Glass Works and, Road and Barton Silverware.

The amount organization claims its president, Mr. Pleut, is breaking new ground as an

exclusive supplier to museum shops across the United States. To date, some 45 of the more than 200 museum shops have placed orders.

"Museum shops have become a very important market," observed Mr. Pleut, interviewed in his home here in a Boston suburb. "People associate these shops with uniqueness and a kind of quality and appropriateness of merchandise."

Mr. Pleut recalls: "During my 10 years at the World Crafts Council the most urgent request that we received from our contacts in over 80 countries was, 'How can you help us support our craftsmen?' The council could not take on marketing, since it is devoted essentially to the cultural aspects of the crafts. I concluded that, when I retired, I would try to establish such an organization. I became convinced that no craftsman can survive without a market, and that literally millions of working craftsmen around the world had no idea how to overcome this difficulty, whether in their own countries, or abroad."

The new organization will provide a market simply by buying the works of selected craftsmen in third world countries. Any eventual surplus earnings will, on a controlled basis, be returned to the craft communities which need assistance most. Sometimes a craftsman needs a

new loom or a new kiln or some raw materials, and with a very modest amount of money the organization hopes to supply some of those needs. It can, of course, only scratch the surface, since millions of craftsmen suffer from similar deprivations. But Mr. Pleut hopes to keep villages whole, help maintain the dignity and integrity of craftsmen, and enable them to continue that work which they know and do best.

On an initial trip for their new venture to the Far East and Southeast Asia, the Pleuts not only selected choice crafts but located agents (government or otherwise) who could handle ordering, quality control, packing, shipping, and paper work to keep adequate quantities coming to the U.S.

"Romantically, it would be very nice if we could simply go to the villages and buy directly from the craftsmen themselves," but it is not possible to do that, Mr. Pleut explains. "Communications are very difficult."

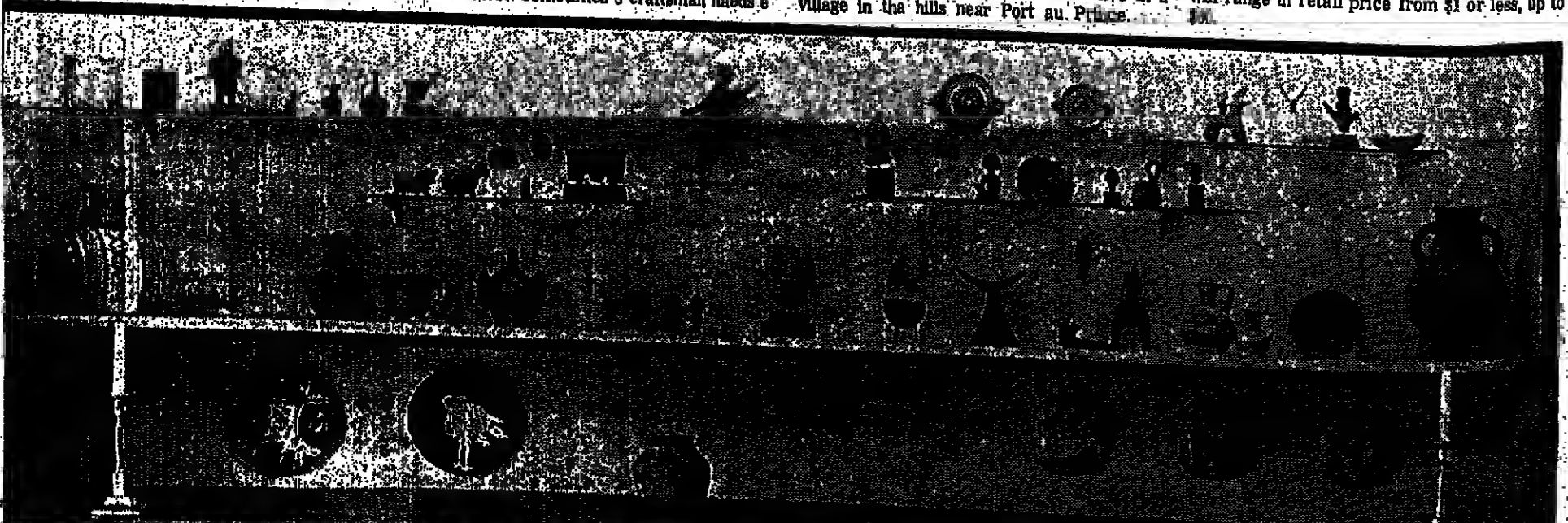
In some countries, such as Haiti, Aid to Artisans is able to deal through a strong craft cooperative. "Right now," he says, "we are taking the entire production of small handmade sisal animals, made by 80 women who live in a village in the hills near Port au Prince."

Our orders make the difference between employment and unemployment. Our efforts may not be enormous, but it is a foreign-aid program that we see working."

The Pleuts will go later this year to the Middle East and India, and next year they will include Africa in their crafts search. Their current catalog includes 70 carefully selected folk-art pieces representing indigenous cultures of Columbia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Indonesia, The Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan. The range will, it is hoped, be tripled in coming months.

Is the timing right for such a project? Strong ethnic looks are important right now, and more and more people are working with their own hands and thus are sympathetic to things that are made by hand. The world has shrunk. Personal travel, books, television, and movies have given people insights into cultures they never knew before. "Today," says Mr. Pleut, a "tribal object from a remote village in New Guinea, or Africa, or The Philippines is not a strange looking thing. It is what people want and understand."

The craft objects the Pleuts have chosen as direct, artistic expressions of other cultures, will range in retail price from \$1 or less, up to \$50.



A glass case in the Pleut dining room is filled with their collection of archaeological artifacts from Palestine, Africa, Taiwan, Peru and Central America

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Decathlon winner Bruce Jenner From Olympics to cereal boxes

By Phil Eldarkin

Los Angeles
There is a kind of a nice commercial
ring to the words - world's greatest all-
around athlete! But this is what specta-
tors were calling Bruce Jenner after he
won a decathlon gold medal for the United
States in the 1976 Montreal Olympics.

The problem is that most decathlon
champs somehow manage to get lost in
non-Olympic years. But you can forget
about that ever happening to Jenner, a
matinee-idol type whose face was made
for TV, whose mouth goes bananas in

needed to get ready for the best Olympics.
Chrystie has also written a book.

Even though the movies are only a fu-
ture possibility at this point, Jenner has
already done considerable color work for
ABC Sports and will soon host a segment
of Wide World of Sports all by himself.

His picture has also appeared on mil-
lions of boxes of cereal; he is constantly
being paid to promote things; and he
spent most of August touring the coun-
try giving motivational speeches. In fact, he
was home just one day in August, some-
thing he says he won't let happen again.

The reason Jenner won't return to de-
fend his Olympic decathlon championship
in Moscow in 1980 is a very practical one.

"The only way anyone can become an
Olympic champion is to put practically ev-
erything else out of his life and just con-
centrate on training and getting into
shape," Bruce explained. "Overall I did
that for 12 years and I really pushed my-
self in the three years prior to the last
Olympics when I practiced six to seven
hours a day."

"In the decathlon, of course, you train
with the idea of getting the most you pos-
sibly can out of all 10 events," he con-
tinued. "I didn't work with a regular track
coach because I didn't think that was the
answer. What I did was train with other
top athletes who are specialists in their
fields and learn from them. In retrospect
I'd go the same way again."

The Olympic decathlon is a two-day
event that includes: (first day) 100 meter,
long jump, shot put, high jump, and 400
meter. Second day: 110 meter hurdles,
discus, pole vault, javelin, and 1500 meter
run. Contestants are given a minimum of
30 minutes to rest between events.

Actually Jenner was first only in the
discus, but scored high enough in all the
others for the decathlon winning total of
8,918 points. Prior to the Olympics, Bruce
had set a personal goal of 8,000 points.

"I felt strong and confident going in and
I had great motivation for the 1976 Olym-
pics because I knew it was going to be my
last," Jenner said. "I knew I couldn't go
through another four years of that kind of
intense practice, so I had already decided
ahead of time that win or loss this was it."



Bruce and Chrystie Jenner

Australia's game for great open spaces

By Denis Warner
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Melbourne
September brings all the color of spring to
southern Australia and a mixture of warm,
sunny days and chilly rains that are reminiscent
of winter's (really quite benign) worst.

Rain or shine makes no difference to the
hundreds of thousands of football followers in
Hobart, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth as they
prepare for the grand finals.

Nowhere else in the world does football cre-
ate such extraordinary mass interest. Nowhere
else is it played in the same way.

The game is called Australian Rules. It is
not at all like American football, or soccer, or
Rugby. It is played by 18 men a side on a
ground so big that he less than six umpires are
needed to control the game.

Like Australia itself, it is a game of great
open spaces, spectacular, rough, and exciting.
Appropriately, it originated in Victoria in the
gold rush days.

One by one the teams are eliminated, until
only two are left. Spectators for the final
match are limited to about 110,000 - all that
the stands at the Melbourne Cricket Ground
can accommodate. By a conservative estimate
up to half a million fans would like to get in.

The "scalpers" reselling tickets at high
prices, work furiously outside the Melbourne
Cricket Ground on the day.

The ball is shaped roughly like an American
or Rugby ball, but is much bigger and easier
to kick. Accurate long, drop, kicking and high
marking used to be the most spectacular parts
of the game, and a player who soared above
the pack to seize the ball eight feet from the
ground would react like a prima donna to the
roars of applause.

As the game is played today, there is no
time to pause. Usually by hand pass, or by
quick, short kick, the ball is on its way to the
forward line. With a team of runners tracking
the play, the coaches, like generals command-
ing their divisions in battle, switch the changes
from the sidelines. It is unlike any other form
of football, so there is no way to compare its
rules with those of any other game. But its
rules are somewhat like basketball's.

The ball may be bounced if a player is car-
rying it, but must touch the ground every ten
yards if he retains possession.

Instead of a net for goals, four posts with no
crossbar are set up seven yards apart at each
end of the field. Any punt, place-kick or drop-
kick which goes between the two inner posts
without being touched by a defender scores six
points. Any kick which goes between the two
outer posts or which goes between the inner
posts after being touched scores one point.

Century scores are common.

The greatest coach of all is a former star
player named Ron Barassi, who has moved
from club to club in Melbourne over the years.

His special talent is shown in this way he has
turned a relatively slow moving game into per-
haps the fastest ball sport of all.

Football does have its critics. In fact Mel-
bourne's best known columnist is president of
the Anti-Football Club. Each year he awards a
medal for outstanding performance against the
interests of the game. The community toler-
ates him - they are sure that at heart he must
love the game.

Visualize a line

By Jack Woods

Chako Higuchi, winner of this year's LPGA
championship, says that there is only one thing
she concentrates on and that is the line of her
next shot.

Off the tee and on the
fairway Chako determines
the line. She fixes it in her
mind, and then swings up
that line. She thinks of
nothing else at all.

On the green she
"reads" the line back-
wards from the hole and
then concentrates on striking the ball firmly
along the first section of the line.

Some players pick a spot a few inches in
front of the ball. Then they aim to put over
the spot. Chako, I understand, just visualizes
the line. She sees it in her imagination.



sports



Winning the Olympic decathlon

Mentally it's hard to say how much that
decision helped me, but in the overall con-
text of winning I'm sure it was a contrib-
uting factor.

"I'd also like to clear up something
about the Olympics," he continued. "Al-
though the press and the politicians try to
make it into a country against country
kind of thing, it's not like that at all. Basic-
ally it's one individual competing against
another; the friendships are real; and
there is a lot of good feeling all around."

Who might succeed Jenner in 1980 as
the world's decathlon champion?

"I'm not trying to avoid your question,"
he replied, "but at this point there is no
clear-cut favorite. I think the American
with the best chance is Fred Dixon, who
does a lot of things well. But Great Britain
has a 10-year-old named Daley Thompson,
who just keeps getting better and better."

"What advice would Jenner give them?"
Bruce remarked. "The main thing is to
block out everything else around you when
it's time to compete and gear your con-
centration to just the one thing. Even
though it's possible, it's extremely diffi-
cult when the whole world is looking over
your shoulder."

people

Genius of Britain

I'm a
GENIUS

Left: sculptures of comedians Morecambe and Wise stand outside tent in London's Battersea Gardens which houses British Genius exhibition. Top: tepee button. Above: Hawker Harrier in U.S. Marine Corps livery. In Laethar-neck hands it has been dogged by creahaa. Right: typewriter for musical scores. Below: the Jim diving suit, brainchild of East Sussex inventor.

By Nicolas Webb

Exhibition a reminder that life is better than headlines

By Stephanie Williams
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

This is no time, Britain has decided, for false modesty. Genius should be celebrated and the country is doing so at a special exhibition in London's Battersea Park.

Britons are rubbing their hands and patting themselves on the back over the native talent that produced vacuum cleaners, atomic fission, jump jets, and the vertical takeoff "Flying Bedstead." Not to mention the paintings of David Hockney and Sir Edward Elgar's First Symphony.

The show skims over the main inventions of the past 100 years and moves on to discuss where the British are looking for the future. From the late 19th century through World War I the emphasis is on engineering inventions and the creation of new industries.

The response to enemy technology during World War I led to such inventions as the "tin hat," as steel helmets were affectionately known, and the tank. And with the Depression of the 1920s and '30s came television, penicillin, the jet engine, and radar. Then there are the defense and electronic breakthroughs of World War II. But it is the achievements — the ones that have not yet hit the history books — of the new Elizabethan age that are bewildering. The sheer scale of British creativity across so many varied fields is presented on a battery of giant cards and pictures, and a 20-minute slide show.

Besides the advances in civil aviation, nuclear power, and computers, the discovery of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), the development of the heart-lung machine and the plastic hip joint, there is the development of socialism in a mixed economy and the literary, musical, and artistic creativity that still makes British culture a leader in the field. Set the heroes of

the 1960s, the Beatles and Mary Quant, Margot Fonteyn and Sir Michael Tippett, David Hockney and Henry Moore, John Osborne and Tom Stoppard, and the quality of British television programs beside the islands that today are extracting oil in the North Sea, tapping solar energy, and making a high-speed train run a foot above the track without wheels and imagine what the future holds for Britain.

Stress on energy

The focus of the section on future developments is on harnessing new forms of energy. The British are well aware of their immense vulnerability in energy terms as an island. The Arab oil embargo of 1973 has faded in memories in a way that the "three-day week" has never done. For nearly two months in mid-winter that year the entire nation suffered severe power restrictions brought on by a prolonged strike by the miners. Coal remains Britain's main power base and now, while developments continue in automation and safety, efforts are being made to liquefy coal beneath the ground and make it at once more transportable and applicable to further uses.

Harnessing the elements is still not efficient, but here are the first tentative steps to making it so: solar eyeballs and solar-powered saws to generate electricity. With this development of nonflammable helium, airships are once more a possibility and the future for ships under sail seems not quite so fantastic when you see the model for a Botsell freighter developed from a catamaran design.

The external combustion engine, invented in 1816 and abandoned with the coming of the steam engine, can be simplified to fire home power stations. There is a walk-in robot of an entirely "self-sufficient" house designed by Alexander Pike of Cambridge University. Designed to generate its own power from the wind and sun, on a more basic level its stove is fueled by methane gas from a sewage digester, and heat is saved by fitting pipes into deep heat wells to prevent waste.

Undersea robots

This all seems very bit and miss beside the sophisticated technology required for tapping North Sea oil. The equipment used for working at great depths beneath one of the roughest seas in the world is reminiscent of that for space exploration. Divers dressed in "Jim" suits, diving suits that look like undersea robots 150 feet below the surface. The hulls of "submersibles" — developed by Vickers Slingsby, a glider firm turned underwater engineers — mean that men can be taken down to survive pressures of 500 pounds per square inch, 1,000 feet down. Very ingenious is the "deep-sea mole," or hydrophobic light, self-purifying anchor that turns the seabed into quicksand with water jets and then buries itself to rest for 70 days.

There is much more at the exhibition. Look

up to see yourself on television, your image picked up by an infrared camera, or the even more extraordinary sound-sensitive one. There are mirrors and lenses made from rubber with surfaces as highly polished as glass. As simple as it may seem, a typewriter for typing sheet music is a most recent invention. Outside there's a delightful statue of British comedians Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise — in a stance familiar to all lovers of their TV show.

Altruism vs. commerce

The British genius exhibition is a strong reminder that Britain is not doing as badly as the headlines make out. But it is also clear that the British have not yet learned how to exploit their own inventions for the general use of mankind. Behind the inventions, the organizers have stressed the altruistic motives behind their creation, motives that too often have had nothing to do with commerce. Time and again the products of British brainpower have been taken up and exploited commercially by other nations. It is American, German, and Japanese trade names that one associates with computers, television sets, and motorcycles.

But there is cause for congratulation. Prince Philip has described the last century as the "most fruitful period" in Britain's long history. "That this genius has not dried up is demonstrated by the number of brilliant ideas of our own generation," he observes.

Gordon Rattray Taylor, author of a book on the exhibition entitled "Salute to British Genius," argues that Britons have possibly contributed more to the advance of the world than any other nation since the Greeks. The exhibition, which is open seven days a week from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., closes Oct. 30.

Strongbox of British art bathes in American light

By William Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New Haven, Connecticut
Most poets write what they feel. But Louis Kahn was moved to build what he felt. And his last building, the Yale Center for British Art, which opened here in April, three years after his passing, is a "finest hour" that will be noted as long as the centuries of creativity it contains.

That warm, lily little man, born in 1901 on the Baltic island of Oesel, moving to Philadelphia as a child, educated in the besuets of the University of Pennsylvania, and many years later putting his city on the map as architecture's metaphysical moses, did not just build for the ages. Finally, he built of time.

The evidence of history was like a building material to him. Evoking it was as important as any structural calculation. The nature of a building's functional requirements and social character, the contours of the landscape of the streetscape surrounding it, and the kinds of human encounter ranging about, alongside, and through it — all were sources of design for him. Light, natural light, was a constant consideration. Kahn's respect for its primal properties energized architecture in the same sense that Einstein liberated physics. Kahn often said, in fact, that E=MC² is a really great poem because it says the most in essence with the least of means. And if this was an aesthetic analysis, it was also an ethical assertion. Kahn couldn't separate the two.

That kind of perception can only come from a gentle, humble probing of the strata of feeling and facts, ideas and experiences, images and symbols that make up the geology of the underlying what we know, or think we know, instead of chiseling out on the past — Kahn, looking for principles to apply, not styles to copy — reopened a vast conceptual quarry that had been off-limits for years. He sized up the streets, ferreted out fundamentals, then brought his forms out of the ground and into the light with painstaking technical veracity.

He called his materials "open lights"; his structures he called "givers of light." Spending his materials, raising them into place, joining them just so, he wanted people to sense a building's identity and integrity as a clear consequence of construction. It was as if to say, "Listen. This place has a conscience, just as you do."

Simple cadence of concrete

The new Yale Center for British Art, a classically simple cadence of concrete framing, set out on a 20-foot grid, filled with sheets of polished stainless steel and expanses of clear glass, is a four-story chip off one of New Haven's old blocks, edging right out to the corner of Chapel and High Streets.

Across Chapel, and one block east, on College Street, which faces the green, is where Yale grew up, beginning in 1716 (15 years after its founding in 1701). The street-strengthening

facades of the center, with an arcade of revenue-producing shops along Chapel, are terse versus, indeed. Clearly, it was as important to Kahn to relate to the commercial character, on his side of Chapel, as to the older collegiate venues across it.

That arcade — including a good book store and a good cheese store — is marked by columns with 40-foot spacing, giving way to the 20-foot spacing above. And those facades — the nonstructural surfaces of steel and glass, seamlessly joined, both brought out tightly flush with concrete frame — rise to heights of reflection, revealing in the daylight, casting back upon us, too, fleeting images of the old Yale Art Gallery across Chapel. During the design phase, someone asked Kahn what the building was going to look like, and he said, "On a gray day it will look like a moth; on a sunny day, like a butterfly."

Corner entranceway

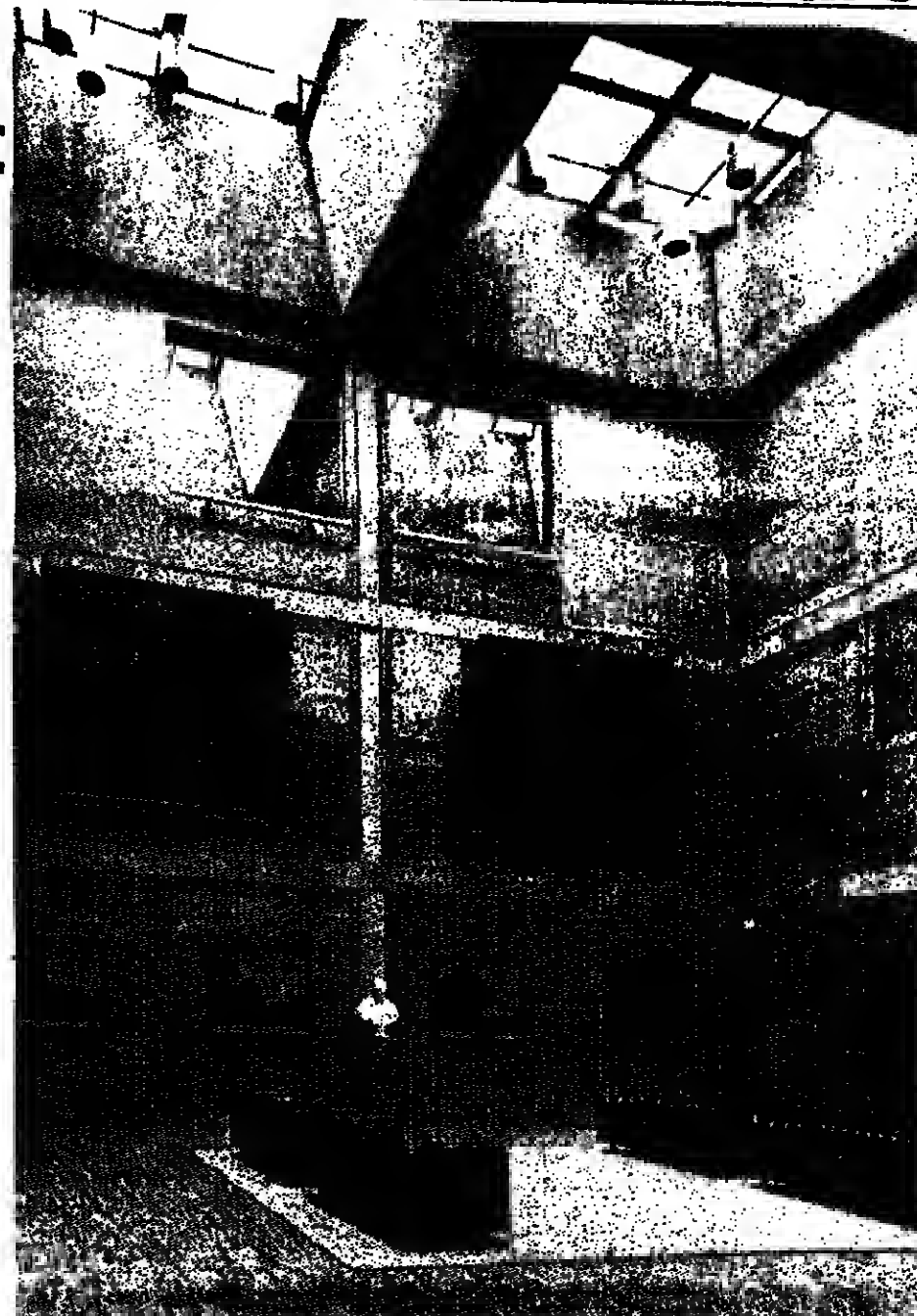
Right on the corner stands the center's entranceway beneath an arcade-height portico. And moving past the corner column, under the big lintel, and over richly textured paving of brick and bluestone, the space of the street and the space of the four-story, sky-lit interior entrance court intermingles. This 40-foot-square space — Kahn originally designed it as an indoor/outdoor room, open to the sky — is sprung on us. Looking around and up, all around, there it is: the sumptuous strongbox for Paul Mellon's priceless, almost priceless collection of 1,700 paintings, 5,000 prints, 7,000 drawings, and 20,000 rare books.

The strongbox doesn't even begin to let on, at this point, about all these riches, but it begins, right away, to let us in on what it is made of. The smooth-finish concrete framing has made its way inside, showing a pervasive structural order throughout. The low-contrast connection between materials outside continues inside, picked up by the impeccably subtle joining of white oak paneling, linen-covered wall partitions, and natural woolen carpets set off by borders of travertine.

Here, just in from the street, introduced by a prancing statue of William III, Kahn has supplied us with a sun-dappled primer about the grammar of his building, preparing us for the full architectural language. Already we have been given clues to the basic character of the composition: the deep-V-shaped beams, hovering cross-crossed above, resting on square-section columns that decrease in dimension floor by floor, with an ingenious skylight system that diffuses the natural light with democratic evenness on all of the walls, has clues us into the basic character of composition.

Galleries around court

Arranged around the court, and overlooking it at several points through squared-off, partial openings, are the gallery levels. People "up there" look "down here," and glancing back up, they look like talkative Hogarth. Across the court, again under a low beam and recessed elevator lobby, there is a huge rounded



By George Casne

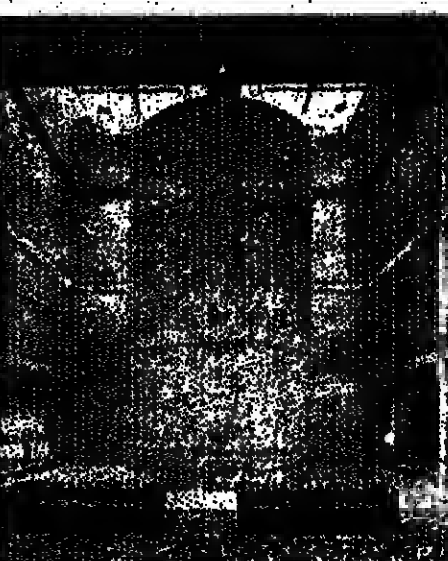
Great Hall with skylight system through three floors and V-shaped beams

form lurking curiously beyond, and before punching the elevator button, there is an irrepressible tug to move around it, to either side. Beyond, a generous auditorium slopes down.

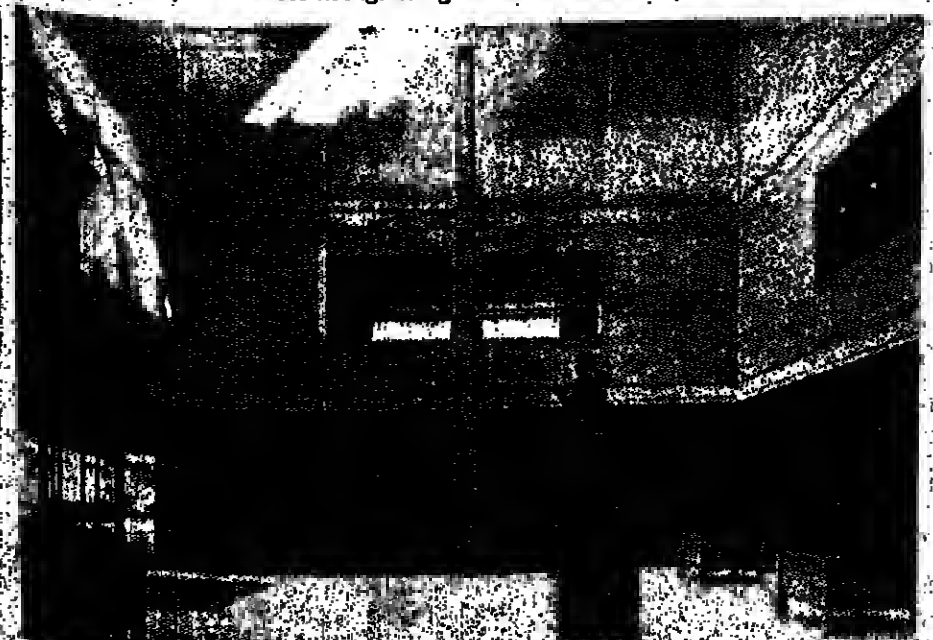
The huge rounded form, like a concrete silo, is a stairwell, and in the east end of the center, it sits, brooding about something, at the west end of a second room, even bigger than the entrance court. This is what Kahn called the Great Hall, and it rises through the upper three stories, again to the V-shaped beams and the benign skylights, again carrying up to views of the surrounding spaces, its paneling heavy with more Mellons. There is a snaking suspicion, but not for long, that Kahn has actually created a Georgian country house, and instead of big paintings on the walls of the Great Hall, one wants to reach for a good book, call for refreshments. What is a dynamic, very urban dialogue outside has become an almost cozy baronial environment, and there is a question as to why that big silo, standing there, couldn't also have been a big, roaring fireplace for sitting next to. But then, Kahn originally suggested putting fireplaces around the center.

No stuffiness allowed
It would have been perfect. The Mellon collection, spanning three centuries, is the kind one can live in, not to mention learn from. Director Edmund Pillsbury, and his predecessor, Jules David Prown, who was everything as a client to Louis Kahn that Pope Julius wasn't to Michelangelo, have seen to it, from day one, that the center would not end up being just another stuffy know-it-all of a facility. And for those who at least want to know more, and it is hard not to want to after being here for a while, the Great Hall gives way, to either side, of that fireplace that should have been, to a two-level library, with the most important collection of British books ever privately assembled. Here, as in the painting galleries, this Boswell of a building, shows its nature. Characteristically, Kahn has exposed the utilitarian air ducts, ducts in the same metallic gray finish, threading them elegantly through the spaces. Dashing in and out of sight are views

Mr. Martin writes architecture and urban design criticism for The Christian Science Monitor.

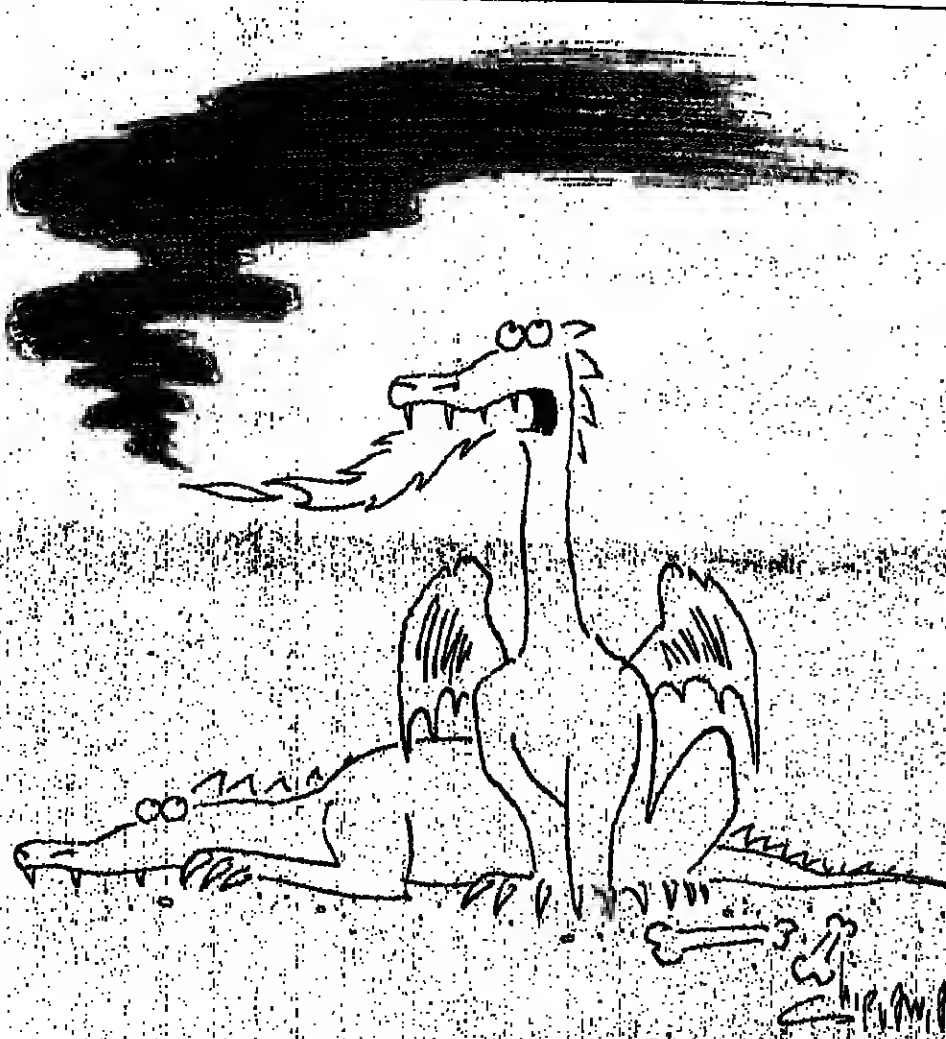


Concrete 'silo' hides a stairwell



By George Casne

Entrance of white oak, linen-covered wall partitions, and prancing William III



"I think I need a tune-up. I'm burning too much oil."

The Christian Science Monitor

for children



Spout a lime bean or onion in a jar and see seeds send up shoots from eggshells or natural sponge gardens

Flowers in egg-shells — and other unexpected places

Growing plants in jars to watch them sprout

By Judith Heitman

Perhaps you and your family are planting flowers and vegetables to enjoy later this summer. Here are some indoor gardening projects that might be fun to try, too:

Here are two projects that will help you see how roots grow and bring nourishment to plants.

You will need:
A quart jar.
A piece of blotting paper or several paper towels.

Lime bean seeds (you can use dried beans but be sure they are not "pre-soaked").
First, soak about a dozen beans overnight in enough water to cover them. They will look wrinkly and the skins will be split. If you open one or two very carefully you will see the tiny plant, ready to grow. You will even see a tiny leaf curled up and waiting.

Preparing jar

Now line the jar with the blotting paper or toweling, fit it securely around the inside of the jar, then wet it by putting a little water in the jar and letting the paper absorb it.

Very carefully push the beans down between the paper and the side of the jar.
Replace the jar cover.
Watch each day to be sure the paper stays moist.

In a very few days you will see the roots be-

gin to grow. When the leaves begin to appear take the jar off the jar. This little plant will not last long, but will show you what goes on under the ground when you plant things.

2. Another project which is fun may be done with a good fat onion and a jar. The onion should sit about halfway down in the jar. Take three or four toothpicks and stick them into the onion at regular intervals all around the middle. Fill the jar with water and set the onion in the jar, placing the pale brown root beginnings in the water. The roots will "come to life" and begin to grow. After a while green sprouts will appear too.

Planting in egg shells

Plant a dozen.
You will need:
Flower or vegetable seeds.
An egg carton.
Egg shells and small scissors.

Soil.
This one's easy. Just place the sponge in the dish, add some water to wet the sponge (be sure to keep it moist). Now sprinkle the bird seed on the sponge, getting as much as possible in the holes. In a day or two you will have a sponge garden. This is fun to do with a younger brother or sister — they'll think it's magic.

With small scissors trim the top of the shell to make a smooth edge (if using blown eggs).

cut off about one-quarter of the top of the shell.

Place shells in an empty egg carton — you may want to decorate them with marking crayons or water colors — just remember, they are very fragile.

Fill each shell within about quarter inch of the top with the soil.

Plant a few seeds in each, then water them, put them in a sunny window and watch them grow.

When the plants are too big for their little pots, plant them outdoors. To move them to the garden just dig a small hole and carefully peel away the eggshell before planting.

Just for fun.
You will need:
Bird seed.
A natural sponge (not a plastic one!).
A shallow dish.

This one's easy. Just place the sponge in the dish, add some water to wet the sponge (be sure to keep it moist). Now sprinkle the bird seed on the sponge, getting as much as possible in the holes. In a day or two you will have a sponge garden. This is fun to do with a younger brother or sister — they'll think it's magic.

Puzzles with food in mind

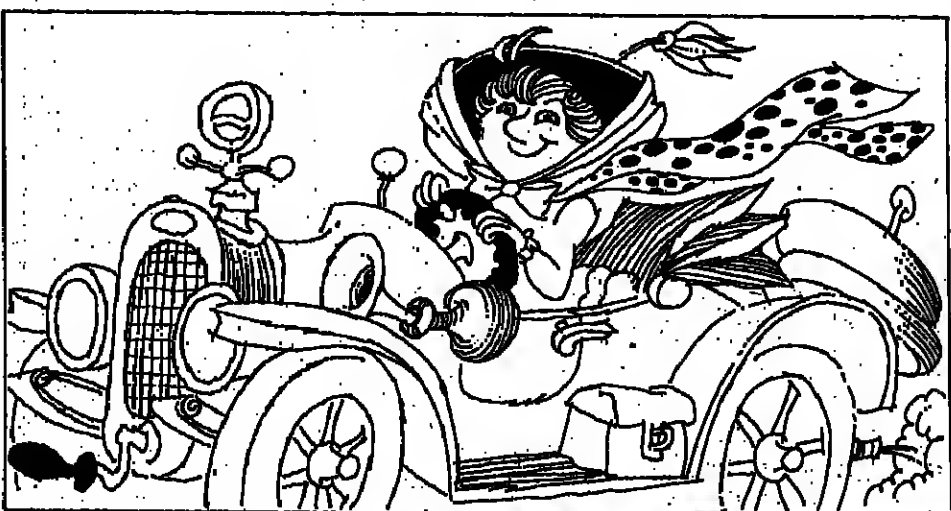
Add a missing letter to each word given below, then by rearranging the letters you will get the name of a fruit or vegetable. For example: add the letter "l" to the word solve, then rearrange the letters and you'll get the word "olives."

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1. solve | 4. mile | 9. outfit |
| 2. speech | 5. sana | 10. aprint |
| 3. tees | 6. chaina | 11. noona |

Answers:
1. olive
2. peach
3. beet
4. lime
5. banana
6. pineapple
7. pear
8. carrot
9. apricot
10. onion
11. noona

★ ★ ★
If you were traveling, could you order your favorite vegetable from a French or Spanish menu? Try matching each English vegetable with its French or Spanish equivalent.

- | French | English | Spanish |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| A. poltron | 1. carrot | a. guisantes |
| B. carotte | 2. onion | b. pepino |
| C. tomate | 3. pea | c. espárrago |
| D. pois | 4. asparagus | d. coliflor |
| E. haricots | 5. cucumber | e. tomate |
| F. chou-fleur | 6. pepper | f. zanahoria |
| G. pigeon | 7. tomato | g. pimiento |
| H. chou | 8. beans | h. col |
| I. asperge | 9. cabbage | i. judías |
| J. concombres | 10. cauliflower | j. cebolla |



PUZZLE
The lady is proud of her brand-new antique car. Our staff photographer took a nice picture, but the print did not come out exactly. Can you find the six differences between the pictures?

travel

Aboard the QE2: is getting there really half the fun?

By Melvin Meddocks

A photograph taken just a little over a decade ago shows five ships tied up at New York's "Luxury Liner Row": the Queen Elizabeth, the Franca, the Constitution, the United States, and the Raffaello. All are gone now to one ignominious form of "retirement" or another.

Over land, over sea one now glances impatiently at one's watch, pops a salted nut or two, carves a pre-cooked steak, and waits for one to have traveled from interchangeable airport to interchangeable airport, late 20th-century style.

The luxury liner, which replaced the sailing packet a century ago as the railroad replaced the stagecoach, has, in turn, become the victim of further technological evolution.

Today the history of the transatlantic passenger liner is being perpetuated by the wake of but one ship, the Queen Elizabeth 2.

The Queen Elizabeth 2 was built in 1968, far too late for illusions. 1957 was the year of the Great Divide: As many passengers crossed the Atlantic by air as by sea, and after that the swing to the plane was swift and, for the luxury liner, nearly terminal. A Cunard manifesto defined the margins left to its last seafarer: "The new QE2 will not merely ferry passengers glamorously back and forth across the Atlantic. Instead she will operate as a self-contained sea-going resort."

In effect, the QE2 must answer the rough question: "Why would I rather be here — on this 1,600-foot bit of floating real estate — rather than at such destinations as London or New York or Paris?"

A heightened value

Shuttleboard will not do as an answer, though it is part of the answer. For the law of the luxury liner is that something one would take for granted on land assumes a heightened value at sea. QE2 passengers spend hours playing "deck tennis" — i.e., throwing a ring across a net. Jogging, or simply walking, becomes a kind of physical privilege. A lecture on backgammon turns into an event. Men have been known to attend seminars on the art of makeup. To switch on one's cabin radio and hear the seagoing equivalent of Muzak seem a small miracle.

Then there is the calling, a normal habit which, on shipboard, somehow becomes a full-time occupation. On the QE2 the lip-smacking passenger has a wake-up hot cup to his cabin. Then comes breakfast. Fruits, from melons to figs. Mountains of porridge. Two kinds of pancakes. Two kinds of bacon. Eggs in every conceivable style — after which the poor starved fellow can hardly wait for his morning bouillon at 11. How did he ever survive without it in his landlubber days?

The hard-gulping traveler no sooner drops his olive-oil omelette than it's time for lunch. More soups — plus salads, fish, fowl, meat, and endless desserts. In short, something far more like dinner. Or so it would seem until you face a dinner. But wait. First, naturally, there is afternoon tea, sweetened and lengthened out by dance music from one of the two orchestras stocked by the QE2.

Besides taking advantage of the sea-enhanced routines of daily living, the QE2 relies heavily on a "You-ailed-with-a-celebrity" policy. On a recent crossing the singer and dancer Rita Moreno was the "star" attraction in the various QE2 clubrooms, while, rather like a floating Chautauque, the Nobel economist Milton Friedman, the composer and music critic Virgil Thomson, and Betty Friedman provided passengers with a series of improving daytime lectures.

The luxury liner has one other cunning resource

against ship-boredom. Old luxury-liner hands used to have a saying: Every ship has three sides — port, starboard, and social. On each crossing of the QE2 a small, highly structured community is deliberately created for a brief but intriguing interval. In fact, the luxury liner may be one of the last places on earth — or sea — where classes, temporarily constituted, can still feel a bracing sense of feudal rivalry.

On a plane "first-class" and "tourist" are distinctions so abstract as to be almost meaningless. On a ship, "first-class" and "tourist" form ancient lines, full of delicious invidiousness. "First-class" still sniffs with a marvelous snobishness of Right Families; "tourist" however modified, derives its heritage from The Great Unwashed — the immigrant in steerage. Robert Louis Stevenson, a romantic slummer like all writers, once traveled in steerage so that he could write a George Orwell-type book, "The Amateur Immigrant." As late as the 1920s when the author Ludwig Bemelmans wished to gather material by the same ruse, a French purser rebuked him thus: "Ab Monsieur, Victor Hugo did not become a lunchbox to write 'Notre Dame.'"

In addition to stratified dining rooms, the QE2 has separate swimming pools, laundromats, and libraries for first-class and tourist. The two classes are allowed to coexist at movies. (When "talkies" first came out, only the first-class passenger could view them on certain liners; the tourist class was condemned to "silents.")

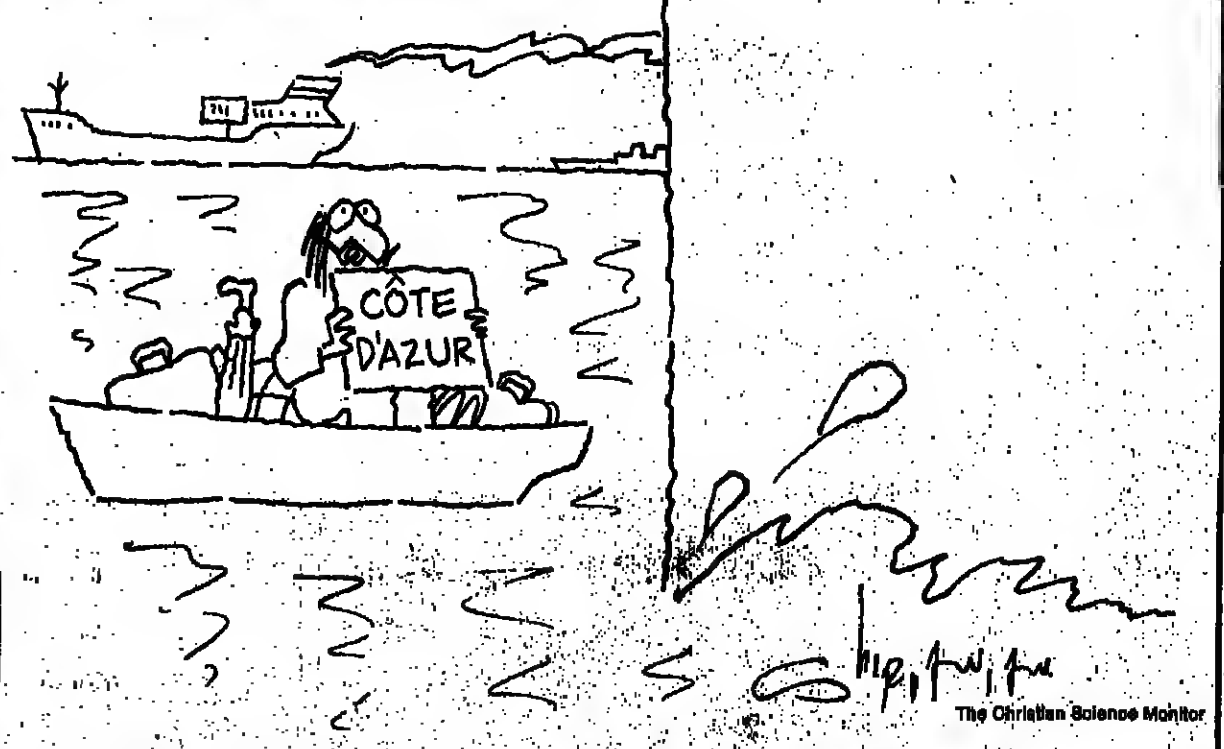
In 1977, if the first-class traveler can no longer quite believe himself a "temporary member of royalty" — the promise of earlier liners to gullible Americans — he can at least feel like the member of a particularly exclusive country club. On the other hand, the tourist-class traveler will see himself as a lively Bohemian, having a lot more fun than those stuffy snobs in evening dress and black tie.

Changed world

So the passengers polarize into Dowager Duchesses and Happy Peasants — bow the concertinas are playing tonight! Nobody should underestimate the pleasures of shipboard class-warfare, which the QE2 further sharpens and refines by offering "suites" and "Penhouse Rooms" for the first-class-of-the-first-class. Only the children, sneaking back and forth across the lines, know the truth their parents hate to hear: There's not that much difference.

And how could it be otherwise? The QE2 was launched with the same gold scissors that cut the launching cord on the earlier Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary. But into what a changed world!

The QE2 does not, like the old French liners, contain



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for children



Spout a lima bean or onion in a jar and see seeds sand up shoots from eggshells or natural sponge gardens

Flowers in egg-shells — and other unexpected places

Growing plants in jars to watch them sprout

By Judith Heimand

Perhaps you and your family are planting flowers and vegetables to enjoy later this summer. Here are some indoor gardening projects that might be fun to try, too:

1. Find out about roots. Here are two projects that will help you see how roots grow and bring nourishment to plants. You will need: A quart jar. A piece of blotting paper or several paper towels.

Lima bean seeds (you can use dried beans but be sure they are not "pre-soaked"). First, soak about a dozen beans overnight in enough water to cover them. They will look wrinkly and the skins will be split. If you open one or two very carefully you will see the tiny plant, ready to grow. You will even see a tiny leaf curled up and waiting.

Preparing jar

Now line the jar with the blotting paper or toweling, fit it securely around the inside of the jar, then wet it by putting a little water in the jar and letting the paper absorb it. Very carefully push the beans down between the paper and the side of the jar. Replace the jar cover. Watch each day to be sure the paper stays moist. In a very few days you will see the roots be-

gin to grow. When the leaves begin to appear take the top off the jar. This little plant will not last long, but will show you what goes on under the ground when you plant things.

2. Another project which is fun may be done with a good fat onion and a jar. The onion should sit about halfway down in the jar. Take three or four toothpicks and stick them into the onion at regular intervals all around the middle. Fill the jar with water and set the onion in the jar, placing the pale brown root beginnings in the water. The roots will "come to life" and begin to grow. After a white green sprouts will appear too.

Planting in egg shells

- Plant a dozen.
- You will need: Flower or vegetable seeds. An egg carton. Egg shells and small scissors. Soil.

As you use eggs save the larger halves of the shells or blow the eggs by making a small hole in one end of the shell, a pinhole in the other. Blow through the pinhole to expel the egg.

With small scissors trim the top of the shell to make a smooth edge (if using blown eggs

cut off about one-quarter of the top of the shell).

Place shells in an empty egg carton — you may want to decorate them with marking crayons or water colors — just remember, they are very fragile.

Fill each shell within about quarter inch of the top with the soil.

Plant a few seeds in each, then water them, put them in a sunny window and watch them grow.

When the plants are too big for their little pots, plant them outdoors. To move them to the garden just dig a small hole and carefully peel away the eggshell before planting.

Just for fun.

- You will need: Bird seed. A natural sponge (not a plastic one!). A shallow dish.

This one's easy. Just place the sponge in the dish, add some water to wet the sponge (be sure to keep it moist). Now sprinkle the bird seed on the sponge, getting as much as possible in the holes. In a day or two you will have a sponge garden. This is fun to do with a younger brother or sister — they'll think it's magic.

Puzzles with food in mind

Add a missing letter to each word given below, then by rearranging the letters you will get the name of a fruit or vegetable. For example: add the letter "l" to the word solve, then rearrange the letters and you'll get the word "olives."

1. solve
2. speech
3. tees
4. milia
5. eams
6. chains
7. nor
8. cutlet
9. aprint
10. noona

Answers: 1. olives 2. leeches 3. peas 4. milk 5. eams 6. chains 7. nor 8. cutlet 9. aprint 10. noona

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travel

Aboard the QE2: is getting there really half the fun?

By Malvin Maddock

A photograph taken just a little over a decade ago shows live ships tied up at New York's "Luxury Liner Row": the Queen Elizabeth, the France, the Con- stitution, the United States, and the Raffaello. All are gone now to one ignominious form of "retirement" or another.

Over land, over sea one now glances impatiently at one's watch, pops a salted nut or two, carves a pre-cooked steak, and voids! one has traveled from inter-changeable airport to interchangeable airport, late 20th-century style.

The luxury liner, which replaced the sailing packet a century ago as the railroad replaced the stagecoach, has, in turn, become the victim of further technological evolution.

Today the history of the transatlantic passenger liner is being perpetuated by the wake of but one ship, the Queen Elizabeth 2.

The Queen Elizabeth 2 was built in 1968, far too late for illusions. 1957 was the year of the Great Divide: As many passengers crossed the Atlantic by air as by sea, and after that the swing to the plane was swift and, for the luxury liner, nearly terminal. A Cunard manifesto defined the margins left to its last seafarer: "The new QE2 will not merely ferry passengers glamorously back and forth across the Atlantic. Instead she will operate as a self-contained sea-going resort."

In effect, the QE2 must answer the rough question: "Why would I rather be here — on this 1,000-foot bit of floating real estate — rather than at such destinations as London or New York or Paris?"

A heightened value

Shuffleboard will not do as an answer, though it is part of the answer. For the law of the luxury liner is that something one would take for granted on land assumes a heightened value at sea. QE2 passengers spend hours playing "deck tennis" — i.e., throwing a ring across a net. Jogging, or simply walking, becomes a kind of physical privilege. A lecture on backgammon turns into an event. Men have been known to attend seminars on the art of makeup. To switch on one's cabin radio and hear the seagoing equivalent of Muzak seem a small miracle.

Then there is eating, a normal habit which, on ship-board, somehow becomes a full-time occupation. On the QE2 the lip-smacking passenger has a wake-up hot cup to his cabin. Then comes breakfast. Fruits, from melons to figs. Mountains of porridge. Two kinds of panakeas. Two kinds of bacon. Eggs in every conceivable style — after which the poor starved fellow can hardly wait for his morning bouillon at 11. How did he ever survive without it in his landlubber days?

The hard-gulping traveler no sooner drops his eleven-see napkin than it's time for lunch. More soups — plus salads, fish, fowl, meat, and endless desserts. In short, something far more like dinner. Or so it would seem until you face a dinner. But wait. First, naturally, there is afternoon tea, sweetened and lengthened out by dance music from one of the two orchestras stocked by the QE2.

Besides taking advantage of the sea-enhanced routine of daily living, the QE2 relies heavily on a "You-sailed-with-a-celebrity" policy. On a recent crossing the singer and dancer Rita Moreno was the "star" attraction in the various QE2 clubrooms, while, rather like a floating Chautauque, the Nobel economist Milton Friedman, the composer and music critic Virgil Thomson, and Betty Friedan provided passengers with a series of improving daytime lectures.

The luxury liner has one other cunning resource

against shipboard boredom. Old luxury-liner hands used to have a saying: Every ship has three sides — port, star-board, and social. On each crossing of the QE2 a small, highly structured community is deliberately created for a brief but intriguing interval. In fact, the luxury liner may be one of the last places on earth — or sea — where classes, temporarily constituted, can still feel a braising sense of feudal rivalry.

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Changed world

So the passengers polarize into Dowager Duchesses and Happy Peasants — how the concertinas are playing tonight! Nobody should underestimate the pleasures of shipboard class-warfare, which the QE2 further sharpens and refines by offering "salute" and "Ponhouse Rooms" for the first-class-of-the-first-class. Only the children, sneaking back and forth across the lines, know the truth: their parents hate to hear: There's not that much difference.

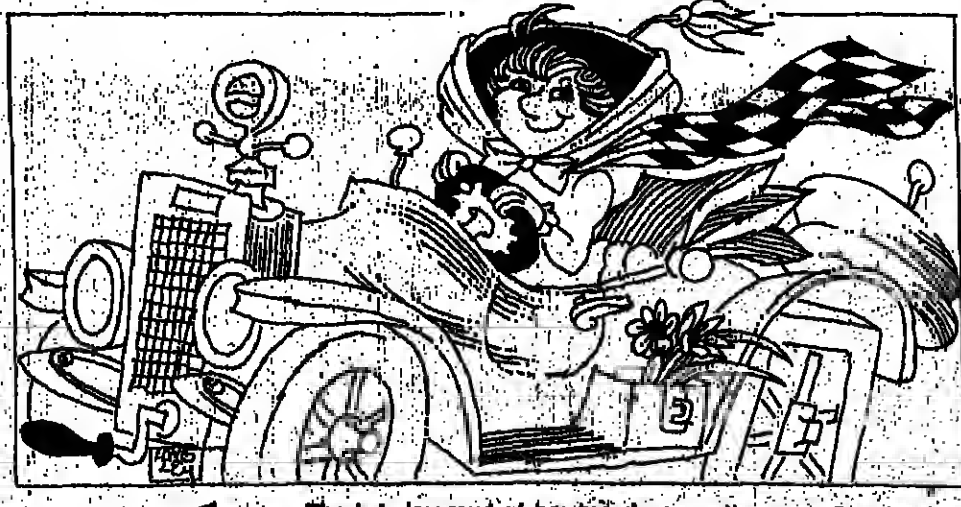
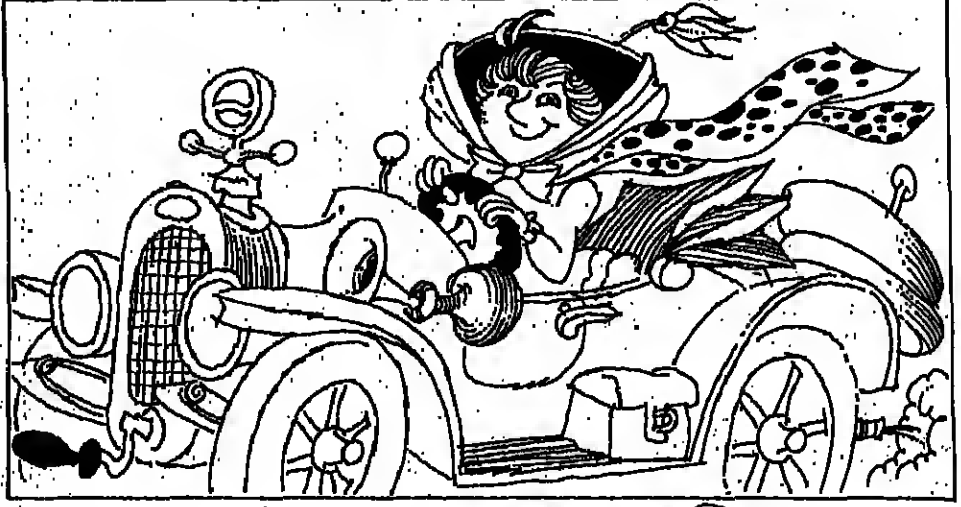
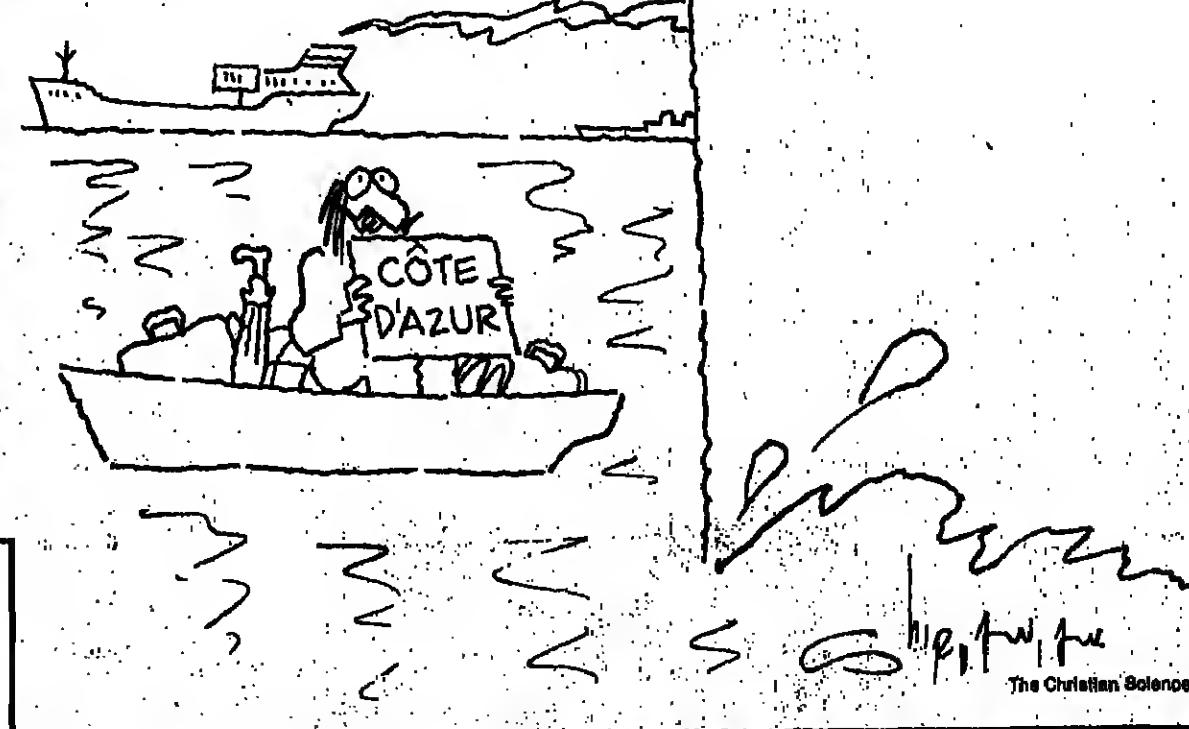
And how could it be otherwise? The QE2 was launched with the same gold scissors that cut the launching cord on the earlier Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary. But into what a changed world!

The QE2 does not, like the old French liners, contain

enough gilt and mirrors for the palace at Versailles. She does not, like the old Italian liners, feature painted ceilings with pucker cherubs, nor, like the old German liners, resemble a stage setting out of Wagner. She is equally removed from earlier Cunarders. The mahogany paneling and marble that made English ships such as the Mauretania seem like floating St. James clubs have been replaced by plastic and aluminum. The QE2 is a decent compromise — halfway between Ruritania and a four-star motel — designed for an age which would not use a luxury liner straight. In all its pure vulgarity.

What, in 1977, is the "ease" for ship-travel?

There remains finally the abiding presence of the sea — life's most terrifying and consoling rhythm. The sea-voyager has not just pushed another instant button. He earns his departure and his arrival, wave by wave. He bears witness to his transit. He knows the meaning of the word "voyage." There is really quite a lot to be said for travel that makes one register the experience itself rather than just the jet-lag.



PUZZLE The lady is proud of her brand-new antique car. Our staff photographer took a nice picture, but the print did not come out exactly as she wished. Can you find the six differences between the pictures?

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Answers:
1. leeches 2. leeches 3. peas 4. milk 5. eams 6. chains 7. nor 8. cutlet 9. aprint 10. noona

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L'Europe n'a pas besoin de l'aide des Etats-Unis pour faire face aux communistes

(Traduction d'un article ayant paru le 3 octobre en première page)

par Joseph C. Harsch

Il se peut que l'unique chose d'importance capitale qui se soit produite dans le monde depuis fort longtemps est arrivée en France l'autre jour, lorsque les communistes, les socialistes et les radicaux de gauche ont interrompu leurs discussions relatives à leur campagne électorale.

Ils ne pouvaient se mettre d'accord sur un programme commun de campagne électorale. Le fait que cet accord n'ait pas été possible a dissipé, tout au moins pour le moment, un grand et sombre nuage politique de dessus la tête du gouvernement français. Mais, ce qui est encore plus important, c'est que le nuage s'est aussi dissipé de dessus la tête des chefs d'état-major de l'OTAN.

Pour évaluer l'importance de l'événement on doit essayer de comprendre ce qui serait arrivé si les tristes partis de la gauche française avaient réussi à se mettre d'accord sur leur programme de politique commune. Unis, ils avaient l'excellente perspective de remporter les élections prévues pour inors prochain. Ce qui, on retour, aurait signifié que le parti communiste français (P.C.F.) faisant partie du gouvernement aurait pu exercer une forte pression sur la politique intérieure aussi bien que sur la politique étrangère.

Les experts se demandent jusqu'à quel point les communistes français auraient fait pression sur la politique nationale lorsqu'ils auraient fait partie du gouvernement. Les communistes avaient évidemment demandé

une politique étrangère « neutre ». Le fait essentiel est que l'alliance entre les Etats-Unis et l'Europe occidentale repose sur la supposition que les pays de l'Europe occidentale ne seront pas communistes dans leurs systèmes économiques, leur politique intérieure et leur attitude militaire. Est-ce que l'OTAN et la Communauté européenne pourraient survivre si des communistes faisaient partie du gouvernement français l'on prochain et s'ils participaient à d'autres gouvernements européens plus tard ?

Personne ne peut être absolument certain de la réponse. Mais il est un fait que depuis de nombreux mois les chefs de gouvernement des pays de l'Alliance occidentale, les chefs d'état-major de l'OTAN et les chefs d'état-major de l'Union européenne se sont longuement demandé avec anxiété ce qu'ils devraient faire. La stratégie militaire aussi bien que politique a été basée sur la supposition qu'aucune nation importante d'Europe occidentale ne deviendrait communiste.

Il est essentiel que l'Europe occidentale ne soit pas communiste et cela fait partie du fondement de la stratégie non seulement de l'alliance occidentale mais également de chacun de ses membres. Elle est à la base de la grande stratégie nationale américaine. Jusqu'au mois dernier, le fondement de la stratégie de l'OTAN était considéré en danger. Le 23 septembre fut une date capitale. Ce jour-là les chefs des trois partis de la gauche

française — P.C.F., P.S. et Radicaux de gauche — annoncèrent qu'ils ne pouvaient se mettre d'accord sur un programme commun de campagne électorale pour les futures élections nationales. Tous exprimèrent l'espoir que des efforts pour trouver un terrain d'entente continueraient à être faits. De futurs pourparlers ne furent pas envisagés.

La bourse des valeurs françaises fit un bond vertigineux. Le quartier général de l'OTAN à Bruxelles poussa un profond soupir de soulagement. Les généraux et amiraux du Pentagone à Washington levèrent, paraît-il, les yeux vers le ciel avec reconnaissance. Le président Carter annonça qu'il s'arrêterait à Paris lors de sa prochaine tournée dans le monde. Le président français, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, regarda joyeusement ses actions monter à la bourse des valeurs politiques. Les conversations virent immédiatement de la probabilité d'un gouvernement de gauche à la possibilité d'une coalition entre centristes gauchistes et socialistes, laissant à côté les gaullistes à droite et les communistes à gauche.

Comment tout cela est-il advenu ? Pas, qu'on le note bien, à la suite de quelque menace de Washington. Voilà un autre exemple d'Européens de l'Ouest résolvant leurs propres problèmes politiques tout seuls sans intervention extérieure. (Le Portugal fut le premier exemple de la solution heureuse d'une crise politique sans l'intervention de Washington. L'Espagne a aussi résolu ses

problèmes politiques internes en dehors de Washington.)

Si Washington avait, dans le cas présent, menacé la France de représailles dans l'éventualité que les communistes fassent partie du gouvernement, cet heureux résultat se serait-il produit ? Presque certainement pas. Une intervention manifeste de Washington aurait probablement produit ce que Washington souhaitait le moins. Ironiquement, le coup de pouce étranger qui a rompu l'équilibre est venu de Moscou.

Depuis juin, le Kremlin a préché une ligne de conduite dure et intransigente aux partis communistes d'Europe occidentale. Cels a commencé immédiatement après les élections espagnoles. Sa première cible fut le chef du parti communiste espagnol, Santiago Carrillo, qui avait suivi la ligne de conduite la plus indépendante du groupe.

Dernièrement le Kremlin s'est retourné contre le P.C.F. Ce qui a eu pour résultat de durcir la ligne de conduite des communistes français à l'interieur de la coalition de la gauche au point que les communistes français ont insisté pour proposer un programme de nationalisations que ni les socialistes ni les radicaux de gauche ne pouvaient accepter.

En d'autres termes, c'est Moscou, et non Washington, qui a rompu la coalition de la gauche en France, coalition qui avait provoqué une telle inquiétude pendant si longtemps à Washington.

Europa braucht die USA nicht, um mit den Kommunisten fertig zu werden

(Dieser Artikel erschien in englischer Sprache in der Ausgabe vom 3. Oktober, Seite 1.)

Von Joseph C. Harsch

Die Kommunisten, Sozialisten und radikalen Linken in Frankreich haben vor kurzem ihre Gespräche über den Wahlkampf abgebrochen. Es ist das seit langem vielleicht wichtigste Ereignis in der Welt.

Sie konnten sich nicht auf ein gemeinsames Regierungsprogramm einigen. Dies vortreibt, für den Augenblick wenigstens, eine dunkle politische Wolke, die über der französischen Regierung aufgezogen war. Noch wichtiger ist jedoch, daß es die Wolke, die sich über den Hauptarm der NATO-Bündnisse zusammengeballt hatte, verjagt hat.

Um die Bedeutung des Ereignisses zu verstehen, muß man sich vorzustellen versuchen, was geschehen wäre, wenn sich die drei Parteien der französischen Linken auf ein politisches Programm geeinigt hätten. Gemeinsam hätten sie gute Aussichten gehabt, die Wahlen im März nächsten Jahres zu gewinnen. Dies wiederum hieße, daß die französische Kommunistische Partei in der Regierung wäre und einen starken Einfluß auf die inneren und Außenpolitik ausüben könnte.

Die Experten streiten sich darüber, wie wohl die französische Kommunisten, wenn sie erst

einmal in der Regierung wären, die Politik des Landes beeinflussen hätten. Sie hätten offen eine „neutrale“ Außenpolitik gefordert. Tatsächlich gründet sich das Bündnis zwischen dem Vereinigten Staaten und Westeuropa darauf, daß die Länder Westeuropas wirtschaftlich, innerpolitisch und militärisch nichtkommunistisch sind. Hätten das NATO-Bündnis und die Europäische Gemeinschaft Überlebenschancen, wenn die Kommunisten im nächsten Jahr im französischen Kabinett und später in anderen europäischen Regierungen wären?

Niemand kann sich der Antwort absolut sicher sein. Tatsache ist jedoch, daß die Führer der westlichen Allianz in den Regierungen, im Pentagon und beim Oberkommando der Alliierten Streitkräfte in Europa (SHAPE) in Belgien jetzt schon seit Monaten viele Gedanken darüber zu machen, was sie tun müßten. Die militärische und politische Strategie geht davon aus, daß kein wichtiges Land in Westeuropa jemals von den Kommunisten regiert wird.

Daß Westeuropa grundsätzlich nichtkommunistisch bleibt, ist nicht nur ein wesentlicher Pfeiler der Strategie der westlichen Allianz, sondern auch eines jeder ihrer Mitglieder. Es liegt den großen strategischen Plänen Amerikas zugrunde. Bis zum vergangenen Monat wurde dieser Teil der Grundlageder NATO-Strategie als gegeben angesehen.

Das wichtige Datum war der 23. September. An jenem Tage gab es die Führer der drei französischen Linksparteien — der Kommunisten, Sozialisten und radikalen Linken — bekannt, daß sie sich nicht auf ein gemeinsames Regierungsprogramm für die bevorstehenden Wahlen einigen konnten. Alle gaben der Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß die Bemühungen um eine Übereinkunft fortgesetzt würden. Es wurden jedoch keine weiteren Gesprächstermine festgelegt.

Die französischen Börsenkurse erlebten einen Hochstand. Im NATO-Hauptquartier in Brüssel war deutlich ein Seufzer der Erleichterung zu hören. Generäle und Admirale im Pentagon in Washington sollen dankbar den Blick zum Himmel gerichtet haben. Präsident Carter gab bekannt, daß er auf seiner nächsten Weltreise auch in Paris Station machen werde. Der französische Präsident Valéry Giscard d'Estaing beobachtete froh, wie auch seine

eigenen Aktien an der politischen Börse stiegen. Man sprach sofort nicht mehr von der Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Regierung der Linken, sondern von der Möglichkeit einer Koalition des Giscard-Zentrums mit den Sozialisten. Auf diese Weise können die Gaullisten der Rechten und die Kommunisten der Linken nicht ans Ruder.

Wie konnte das alles geschehen? Nicht, so sei klar bemerkt, aufgrund irgendwelcher Drohungen aus Washington. Es ist ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, daß die Westeuropäer ihre politischen Probleme selbst lösen können, ohne Einmischung von außen. (Portugal war das erste Beispiel dafür, daß eine politische Krise ohne die Einmischung Washingtons eine glückliche Lösung finden kann. Spanien hat seine innerpolitischen Probleme ebenfalls ohne Washington gelöst.)

Wann Washington in diesem Fall mit Vergeltungsmaßnahmen gedroht hätte, falls die Kommunisten an der französischen Regierung beteiligt würden, wäre es dann zu einem so guten Ergebnis gekommen? Sehr wahrscheinlich nicht. Eine offene Einmischung Washingtons hätte möglicherweise genau das zur Folge gehabt, was Washington sich am wenigsten wünschte. Die Hilfe von außen, die sich als das Zünglein an der Waage erwies, kam ironischerweise von Moskau.

Der Kren hat den kommunistischen Parteien Westeuropas seit Juni unnachgiebig und kompromisslos die Lavant verlesen. Es begann unmittelbar nach den Wahlen in Spanien. Die erste Zielscheibe war der Chef der Spanischen Kommunistischen Partei, Santiago Carrillo, der den unabhängigen Kurs unter den westeuropäischen kommunistischen Parteien verfolgt hat.

In jüngster Zeit war die französische Kommunistische Partei das Opfer. Als Folge davon verhärtete sich die Haltung der französischen Kommunisten in der Koalition der Linken. Dies ging so weit, daß die französische Kommunisten auf ein Programm der Verstaatlichung der Industrie bestanden, dem weder die Sozialisten noch die linken Radikalen zustimmen konnten.

Mit anderen Worten: durch Moskau, nicht durch Washington, ging die Koalition der Linken in Frankreich über die man sich in Washington so lange große Sorgen gemacht hatte, in die Brüche.



What do you mean endangered species? It's a dragon!
Que voulez-vous dire, une espèce en danger d'extinction?
C'est un dragon!
Dieses Tier soll vom Aussterben bedroht sein? Es ist ein Drache!

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est en double chaque semaine)

Enlever les étiquettes

Beaucoup d'entre nous ne se rendent pas compte qu'ils apposent une étiquette signalant certains traits et certaines caractéristiques sur eux-mêmes, leur famille, leurs amis et leurs camarades de travail. Ces étiquettes sont souvent parties de notre pensée et y sont fixées et elles gouvernent notre conduite envers les autres tout en limitant notre propre progrès.

Ces traits ont pour la plupart tendance à être négatifs. Et ce sont en général des étiquettes mentales, parce que nous ne dirions pas à hauts voix à ces personnes les choses désagréables que nous pensons d'elles. Mais nous de ces traits ou de ces caractéristiques ne sont vrais parce qu'ils ne décrivent pas l'homme réel, l'homme spirituel créé par Dieu.

L'homme est fait à l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu; par conséquent il est spirituel et parfait. Cet homme parfait est l'homme que Christ Jésus vit en ceux qui veulent à lui pour être guéris. Le clair concept qu'il avait de l'homme éliminait le mal qui prétendait faire partie de l'homme et apportait la guérison. Cette même méthode est à l'œuvre aujourd'hui, mettant le pouvoir de Dieu en action dans la conscience humaine.

Personnages que quelqu'un est infirme? L'homme est droit et libre. Pensons-nous que quelqu'un est vieux et faible? L'homme de Dieu est toujours nouveau et éternel. Voyons-nous quelqu'un avec des traits de caractère qui nous déplaisent, ou voyons-nous son être réel et son idée parfaite de Dieu.

Viele von uns merken es gar nicht, wenn wir uns selbst, unseren Familienangehörigen, Freunden und Mitarbeitern bestimmte Charakterzüge und Eigenschaften anhängen. Diese Merkmale werden dann oft zu einem festen Bestandteil unseres Denkens und bestimmen unser Verhalten anderen gegenüber, während sie gleichzeitig unseren eigenen Fortschritt behindern.

Die meisten dieser Charakterzüge sind eher negativ als positiv. Und im allgemeinen schreiben wir sie unseren Mitmenschen in Gedanken zu, denn wir würden ihnen die unfreundlichen Dinge, die wir über sie denken, nicht ins Gesicht sagen. Aber keiner dieser Charakterzüge, keine dieser Eigenheiten ist wahr, denn wir beschreiben nicht den wirklichen Menschen, den geistigen Menschen, den Gott erschaffen hat.

Gott hat den Menschen zu seinem Bild und Gleichnis geschaffen; daher ist er geistig und vollkommen. Diesen vollkommenen Menschen sah Jesus in all denen, die zu ihm kamen, um geheilt zu werden. Seine klare Vorstellung von Menschen löschte das Böse aus, das den Anspruch erhob, ein Teil des Menschen zu sein, und führte die Heilung herbei. Auf dieselbe Weise wird auch heute die Macht Gottes im menschlichen Bewußtsein wirksam.

Betrachten wir jemanden als einen Invaliden? Der Mensch ist aufrecht und frei. Halten wir jemanden für alt und schwach? Der von Gott erschaffene Mensch ist immer neu und unverwundlich. Sehe wir in jemandem Charakterzüge, die wir nicht mit-

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une image indétruite de comparaison avec les autres, qui semblent être plus beaux, plus intelligents, plus capables. Cette comparaison même nous cache notre être réel, illimité, parfait. Donc, quelles que soient les étiquettes, elles n'ont ni substance ni autorité, à moins qu'elles ne représentent l'homme parfait de la création de Dieu. La seule étiquette qui soit vraie de l'homme est: « Spirituel et parfait ».

Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 463; Luc 7:48.

Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Entfernen Sie die „Anhängeschildchen“!

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Woodchoppers: Drawing by Anton Mauve (1838-1888)

We came back to Paris. Shortly afterward Enesco was to give a concert, which we would attend, of course, and which furthermore was my long-awaited chance of making myself known to him. This time, Emma told me, I must make my future in my own hands. Unsupported by parents or sisters, a very scared child indeed, I stationed myself in the artists' room after the concert until the settled mob overhead thinned into a half-dozen grownups. Poor Enesco! If he thought that seven more autographs would settle the evening's account, he had not reckoned correctly; only six people disappeared with a flourish of his pen hand — the seventh held fast. After all, it wasn't a memento, it was his soul I had come for. "I want to study with you," I said without further ado, our conversation ran somewhat as follows:

"There must be some mistake. I don't give private lessons."

"But I must study with you — please let me play for you!"

"That's impossible, my dear child. I leave Paris in the morning," he explained, looking at Gerard Hekking the cellist, who kept autograph seekers in line, as if to enlist his support.

Between the two sentences a policy had become a plea of inconvenience, and a plea of inconvenience invites inconvenience. So my proposal to play while he pecked his valise left him no alternative but to reinvoke the policy or abdicate it altogether. Something must have alarmed him, my defensiveness or my urgency or his failure to think of a better reason why I shouldn't come. As soon as he capitulated, I felt perfectly certain he accepted me from then on as his charge, and when he and I arrived at his apartment on the rue du Clichy at six the next morning it was, as far as I was concerned, for my first lesson. And so it proved.

Enesco wasn't just a teacher. Indeed he never so described himself. He was the sustaining hand of providence, the inspiration that bore me aloft.

If a great man anticipates doubts, his disciple gives him the benefit of every one. Enesco will always remain the Absolute by which I judge others, finding them, but especially myself, wanting. Apart from those ineffable qualities we gloss over with words like "presence" and the mystic mantle my veneration threw around him, his musical prowess was simply phenomenal. He knew by heart the Bach Ur-text edition, 58 of the 60 volumes having been given to him by Queo Marie (of Rumania) in his conservatory days (of the two missing volumes, one was the Index). I recall the day he sat at an old upright piano and, hammering, crooning, whistling the various parts, evoked Tristan and Isolde more dramatically than an operatic company — without score, for Wagner too had been wholly committed to memory.

No angle feat, however, made a greater impression on me than one performed during a lesson. Maurice Ravel suddenly burst into our midst, the ink still drying on a piano-and-violonotone which he had brought along. It seemed his publishers, Durand, wished to hear it immediately (in those days publishers did not accept anybody's work unheard, not even Ravel's; what would they have done, I wonder, with dodecaphonic scores?). Enesco, chivalrous man that he was, craved Ravel's and my indulgence — as though I might draw myself up to my full four feet six inches and thunder, "What a nuisance!" — then, with Ravel at the piano, sight-read the complex work, pausing now and again for elucidation. Ravel would have let matters rest there, but Enesco suggested they have one more run-through, whereupon he told the manuscript to one side and played the entire work from memory. Such mnemonic tours de force bore out my conviction that this tree of a man, as he seemed to me, drew musical intelligence straight from the source.

Enesco gave me lessons whenever his concert schedule allowed, perhaps five in five successive days, then none for a fortnight, but each one lasting an entire afternoon as if to make amends for their irregularity. A lesson was an inspiration, not a stage reached in a course of instruction. It was the making of music, much as if I were his orchestra, playing under his direction, or his apprentice soloist and he both conductor and orchestra, for while he accompanied me at the piano he also sang the different voices of the score. There were few interruptions. Sometimes he took up his own violin to illustrate a point of, say, vibrato or glissando; very rarely would he give me a dissertation on violin theory, for the circumstances of both our lives short-circuited the clumsy locutions of speech. . . . He remained himself. When I came to study with him, I played more or less as a bird sings, instinctively, unconsciously, unthinkingly, and thus neither he nor I gave much thought to theory.

What I received from him — by compelling example, not by word — was the note transformed into vital message, the phrase given shape and meaning, the structure of music made vivid. I was ready to receive it; music was hardly dead

ARTISTS and their INSPIRATION

As often as possible, within the next year, The Home Forum page will offer colloquies with or essays by distinguished artists, poets and writers in which their attitudes toward their arts will be discussed. The second artist in this series is Yehudi Menuhin, the great violinist who also cares deeply about mankind.

for me; it was a fierce passion, but I had never known it to have such clear and vital form before. When, occasionally, he did use words to make a point, they were not cut-and-dried injunctions, nor ready-made solutions, but suggestions, images, which by-passed reason to infuse the imagination with a complete understanding. He did not impose his views. Unlike most pupils, who do as their teacher or the printed music tells them, I would experiment with different fingerings in search of the "right" one, with the result that every time I played a given piece, it was with a new fingering. All Enesco permitted himself was the gentle observation that it might be as well to settle on one in preparing a public performance.

He had the most expressively varied vibrato and the most wonderful trills of any violinist I have ever known. Depending on the speed and lightness of a trill, his trilling finger struck the string higher than the actual note, thus keeping in tune although the light, fast motion of the finger did not push the string to its full depth on the fingerboard. Not surpris-



Courtesy of The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

'Green Violinist': Oil on canvas by Marc Chagall

ingly, it was the expressive side of his temperament which most fired me, to the neglect of his discipline, and once in a while he would call my too passionate playing to account.

Music is given us with our existence. An infant cries or crows or talks with his own voice and goes one step beyond to sing. Above other arts, music can be possessed without knowledge; being an expression largely of the subconscious, it has its direct routes from whatever is in our guts, minds and spirits, without need of a detour through the classroom. That direct route I knew, thank God. I learned to love music before I learned to say so; I was given the raw material when I could scarcely read or write; I early felt the wonder of taking up a violin and making it speak, communicate with others, express the thoughts and feelings of great composers. No doubt I had great aptitude which enabled me to excel my teachers in specific performance, but his phenomenon is generally accounted more mysterious than it is. Violin to hand, a talented youngster with music in his heart, an inspiring master, and the capacity to play by "feel" and intuition can hurdle obstacles apparently insuperable to the adult mind, which would erect barriers of qualification to be surmounted before one wins the right to self-expression. Without qualifications, background or experience, without knowing adolescent yearning, excitement and disappointment, I could at the age of seven or eight play the *Symphonie Espagnole* almost as well as anyone and better than most. There I was supremely blessed was in having great musicians to inspire me. Too many young people are ruined by bad teaching. It was not my fate to have bad teaching, or any teaching at all, in the literal sense of the word. Had I been put to study under a first-class "teacher," a Carl Flesch or a Doina, the experience might well have proved mutually discouraging — to him for my playing adequately without his training, and me for his system's depriving me of music. My teachers, however, were first and foremost superb violinists, so that I knew from the beginning the sound and feel of a phrase or a performance, drinking in example by intuition, by recognition, without troubling to analyze meaning and mechanics.

Enesco's insight was the fruit of time, and time was precisely what I did not have on my own account. It is one thing to play one's small repertoire beautifully, another to have lived long enough to understand Mozart or play through all Beethoven's quartets or simply begin to know something of the world. My devoted, careful parent saw to it that I wasn't confined to what I could easily do; they saved me from musical idiosyncrasy, if the expression may be allowed, giving me books, languages, the countryside, family life, and much besides; but there is no such thing as an instant biography. Maturity, in music and in life, has to be earned by living. Having started at the top, after a fashion and in one respect only, I had to construct my maturity from an unusual angle.

It was as if one were suspended from a balloon at the fifth floor without any scaffolding of patience to shore up against the balloon's deflation. Projected up to Beethoven, I knew that a vision had been in some way grasped, or at least perceived, before the intervening spaces had been filled — spaces to be filled by contact with life as much as, or more than, by contact with music. The difficulty was to let down threads from my balloon and surreptitiously build from the bottom up without ever living down there. Lessons had to be learned in later life which in the ordinary course of events children learn at school, at play, in the streets and among the crowds: that competition exists, for power, for leadership, for the satisfaction of greed, for an object, a person. There was no competition in my youth, nor any suggestion that one might willfully harm one's neighbor in the course of self-advancement. For one thing, my gift spared me: as soon as I could play professionally, support, engagements, fees, fell to me without my striving. For another, the people I knew — by great good fortune, I believe, as well as by my parents' scrupulous selection — were all of a remarkable goodness. And thirdly, family principles built an ideal world about my sisters and me. True, it would prove hard and painful to reconcile the fluidity of actual life with the crystallized perfection of the standards which governed childhood; true, too, I probably lost something of resilience, alertness, color, and fascination in the static security of my upbringing. But I am not sorry to have misad the rough and tumble of unprotected childhood. Even if I was unprepared to find life less than perfect, it was wonderful to have had so early a conception of the idea.

After many years of building to meet my balloon, I think there are now few dangerous crevices left in the construction, although, as there is much I have not experienced, my completeness is perhaps not for me to judge.

Yehudi Menuhin

From "Unfinished Journey," © 1977, Alfred A. Knopf

What is music?

In England recently, the Home Forum editor, Henrietta Buckmaster, talked with Yehudi Menuhin. Here is the essence of their exchange.

Mr. Menuhin, your long, generous thinking about the interrelation of the arts has led you to try for "reconciliation on humanity's behalf." As you put it, How have you attempted this, both as a man and a musician?

Did I say that? It sounds terribly pompous. I haven't really attempted anything as immense as "reconciliation on humanity's behalf." I have simply done what I could with whatever situations came my way, rather than running over the ground and finding obstacles in their path and having somehow to get around them. One of these situations arose with [my presidency of] the International Music Council, and if you will read my book in this light you will have some idea of the satisfaction I received, however short-lived in view of the present course of events, from the reconciliation at least of the musicians present at the last World Congress.

On this occasion Israel wholeheartedly withdrew a biting political statement of censure against the parent organization UNESCO, responding to the unanimous support given to Menuhin's plea, "Let us show that musicians know how to keep harmony." There is never anything but understanding among musicians. Such deliberate misunderstandings and suspicions as there may have been are extraordinary and entirely artificial. One cannot fight for reconciliation in the presence of greed, envy, ignorance or prejudice; these merely produce hate and fear.

Of course we can all eliminate danger by not taking risks. I think it is quite impossible to eliminate danger, and in fact we may be destroyed by the very precautions we take. Remember the old Greek tales and the story of the blind men? Naturally there are risks we can avoid — walking certain streets of New York in the dark, or on very slippery surfaces in winter, or not being careful about electrical wiring — but if on the other hand we do not develop a sense of balance and precise, accurate motion, if we move in a haphazard way, we are more likely to slip than if we are relaxed and balanced, poised and surefooted. I would rather sit on the back of a suspended dam in the Andes, walking along a precipitous cliff, than be a passenger in a car on the freeway driven by a disoriented chauffeur!

I do not believe we can eliminate danger by not taking risks. I think it is quite impossible to eliminate danger, and in fact we may be destroyed by the very precautions we take. Remember the old Greek tales and the story of the blind men? Naturally there are risks we can avoid — walking certain streets of New York in the dark, or on very slippery surfaces in winter, or not being careful about electrical wiring — but if on the other hand we do not develop a sense of balance and precise, accurate motion, if we move in a haphazard way, we are more likely to slip than if we are relaxed and balanced, poised and surefooted. I would rather sit on the back of a suspended dam in the Andes, walking along a precipitous cliff, than be a passenger in a car on the freeway driven by a disoriented chauffeur!

The pressure of the last ten years of riots and wars have changed attitudes enormously. Do you see a hope that this can be a co-thriller and that simpler and more humane attitudes may be emerging? Or must we go through more anguish?

I doubt that we have been through the catharsis, if that is indeed what it is. I believe that we are in for many more riots and wars. The wars will be forced upon us because we do not take any real stock of our own values and we do not seem prepared to defend them. We will therefore be taught the price of our values by further bloodshed, unnecessary and catastrophic.

The threat to indigenous cultures is real and grievous. What will happen if we do not stop it? But how can we stop it?

The threat to indigenous cultures is the same as that which has already decimated some of our precious flora and animal species. If we do not stop it we will all die because we cannot survive without other life. We live as a part of and at the expense of other life. Nor can we draw a line between other life which may be harmful to us and life which is beneficial to us. In the end, even certain harmful aspects of other life are essential to us. We can only stop the threat by acknowledging this fact, and it is up to all of us to propagate this knowledge.

You've expressed some dismay at the violence induced by rock music, and wondered if music is all a universal language. How do you feel now?

Music is not a universal language, though it can be. What is true of music is that it penetrates directly to the emotions and is much truer of the emotions than words are. Words very often hide or distort emotions. Music never does. But there is also the music of the mediocre and the violent and the ignorant.

What is music? What is the music you make? Every great artist has, I feel, his own definition of his art. Your own attitude toward your music must have changed and deepened as you yourself understood more of the relation of art and life. Is this true? Do you see your music-making moving in any new direction? Have you found a more universal language? What do you feel about the need to educate the heart?

I do feel that the education of the heart is at least as important as the education of the mind, and we have failed signally in that respect. Music and the arts can indeed do a great deal, but again only if they are communicated and taught by people who themselves are imbued with a sense of meaning.

Patience

Paper has patience.
Listens to alliance
And speech.
Remembers the growth
Of the tree:
The roots,
The seeds,
The forest.

The rings
Tune made.

Speak to it.
Write on it.
Tear it.
Still the thought
Remains in memory.

Ryah Tumarkin Goodman

The Monitor's religious article

Remove the labels

Many of us do not realize when we label ourselves, our family, our friends, and our fellow workers with certain traits and characteristics. These often become a fixed part of our thought and govern our conduct toward others, along with limiting our own progress.

Most of these traits tend to be negative. And they are generally mental labels, because we would not say audibly to these people the unpleasant things we think of them. But none of these traits or characteristics are true, because they do not describe the real man, the spiritual man created by God.

Man is made in the image and likeness of God; therefore, he is spiritual and perfect. This perfect man is the man Christ Jesus saw in those who came to him for healing. His clear concept of man eliminated the evil that claimed to be a part of men and brought healing. This same method is at work today, setting the power of God to work in human consciousness.

Do we think of someone as an invalid? Man is upright and free. Do we think of someone as old and feeble? God's man is forever new and eternal. Do we see someone who has character traits we don't like, or are we seeing his real being as a perfect idea of God, divine Mind? Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "A spiritual idea has not a single element of error, and this truth removes property whatever is offensive."

We are labeled from the time we appear on the human scene, measured by comparison with others. A baby is "slow" to walk, to have teeth, to talk. What about giving him his rightful freedom to grow in his own natural way? No two people are alike. No two progress at the same rate. So encouragement and gratitude for every step are needed by all of us.

If our mental picture is biased by false racial, national, family, or individual outlines, we need to look beyond the material picture and perceive the child of God. We deprive ourselves of the joy of knowing what is true of our brother man when we see him from a limited, material viewpoint.

What of one who appears to us to be a sinner, evil, unworthy of our love and respect? Remove the label and look for the child of God. Christ Jesus rebuked the self-righteous Simon, who saw the woman washing the feet of Jesus only as a sinner and could not recognize the sincerity of her repentance and her adoration for the Christ. Jesus said to her, "Thy sins are forgiven." The Master never

held anyone in a state of condemnation and neither should we.

As we strive to free our thought from false concepts, let us not forget ourselves. We often carry about with us engraven on thought the undesirable picture of comparison with others who appear more beautiful, more intelligent, more capable. This very comparison blinds us to our real, unlimited, perfect being. So whatever the labels, they have no substance, no authority, unless they describe the perfect man of God's creating. The only label that is true of man is "spiritual and perfect."

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 463; **Luke 7:48.

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BIBLE VERSE

O sing unto the Lord a new song:
sing unto the Lord, all the earth.
Psalm 96:1

Voices

listening
may say more
in saying
nothing
than speaking
in many words
that fail to reach
the place
of centering
Elizabeth Searle Lamb

OPINION AND...

Richard L. Strout

Illegal population growth

Washington
Communist China takes the threat of excessive population so seriously that it subjects couples in Shanghai to intrusive personal inspection and social control.

The United States takes the threat of excessive population so lightly that it has not yet effectively blocked the continuing entrance of perhaps a million illegal immigrants a year.

According to a team of U.S. population experts just out of Communist China the city of Shanghai, with 10 million people, has achieved an extraordinary cut in birthrate to about 6 per 1,000, roughly equivalent to its death rate, or "one of the fastest and most extreme drops in crude birthrate ever recorded," says Stanford University researcher Judith Banister.

Meanwhile in the United States, which has voluntarily lowered its own birthrate by demographic descent to one of the lowest levels in the world, the flood of "illegals" is continuing. The Ford administration issued a report on illegal immigration by a committee under Attorney

General Edward D. Levi in December, 1976. It found the border patrol inadequate to stop the flood of Mexican illegals; it said that "most estimates" of illegal entries "run to several million yearly." It reached the surprising conclusion, that "if both fertility and illegal immigration continue at current levels, all growth in the U.S. will derive from immigration by the year 2035." Even today legal immigrants account for 30 percent of U.S. population growth.

At an estimate of 1 million persons per year, the Levi report said "the U.S. population increase of 1.2 million persons in 1975 is, in effect, doubled as a result of illegal immigration."

It is an odd situation where China, the most teeming nation (900 million) applies social and economic pressures to cut its growth rate, while the richest nation, the United States, casually leaves its growth to the process of immigration, largely illegal.

The Washington Post's correspondent in

Hong Kong, Jay Mathews, reports on what the American research team found in Shanghai. Dramatic reduction in births has been accomplished by a degree of regimented social and political pressure intolerable for a democracy. Each office, factory, and commune keeps records, it appears, on number of children born; the marriage age is delayed; family planning committees set growth quotas and apply stern measures to parents who presume to have more than two children.

Planet Earth now has about 4 billion people. So badly is income distributed that about a billion of these live in poverty and perhaps half that number in what World Bank president Robert McNamara calls "absolute poverty."

The world's peak rate of growth was 2 percent in 1965. It is apparently now declining. But each year a population greater than Great Britain's is added to the total.

Formerly the United States shipped surplus grains to hungry nations at concessional prices. Was this wise? Werner Fornes, director

of the Population Information Program at George Washington University, argues that the "Food for Peace" program enabled India, Pakistan, and other hungry lands to delay self-help programs to curb population and raise more crops.

A committee of the World Bank recommends that developing countries should be made "more aware of the penalties they pay for higher fertility."

Mexico with 62.3 million people has one of the highest birthrates in the world (3.2 percent) higher than India's. Mexico City will be the biggest city on earth in 20 years at present rates and Mexico itself will have more people than the U.S. in 2020. Mexico can't feed its people, there is chronic unemployment of about 30 percent, and the nation is heavily mortgaged to foreign banks. Policing U.S. immigration quotas would increase social tension in Mexico. But is this an asexual reason for not enforcing American law?

On the limits of being tolerant

Melvin Maddocks

Two students are sitting at a library table, books face down, taking their break by indulging in a common form of collegiate recreation: self-analysis.

"I'm tolerant," says the earnest-looking one. "I'm as tolerant as anyone I know. It's just that I'm beginning to realize I'm tolerant without being very generous."

Both laughed. The paradox is worth it. But the laugh is short and ends with a little grimace edging the mouth of the speaker.

The two have hit upon a bitter irony of life today. What is this official virtue on the lips, this emptiness of the heart?

Tolerance — it fairly oozes out our pores. We tolerate, indeed we "empathize with" other customs, other mores as if we were anthropologists by profession. No sexual deviation, it seems, is beyond our neutral response. The eating habits of vegetarians and cannibals are equally within our range. Give us a racial confrontation, and, like two teams of lawyers, we will present the case for both sides, indifferently appreciating equal rights while grasping the predicament of the ethnics.

Is nothing beyond our tolerance? We have our troubles with child pornographers. But does anybody doubt that an apologist will arise sooner or later and, in an extremely of-course, explain it?

Harvey Cox talks of trying to shock one of his Harvard

Divinity School students, a paragon of tolerance, by asking her if there was nothing she could condemn. How about matricide? The anti-moralist calmly considered his desperate Greek-tragedy challenge. "I'd have to know the circumstances," she answered.

We have ascribed all those spiky "Thou shalt nots" and floated off into a universe of "if all depends." And a lot of us find this cause for self-congratulation. Have we not, we inquire proudly, given up the harsh narrowness of prohibitive moralizing for the Golden Rule of living acceptance?

But that, as the two students in the library so wryly recognized, is the rub. Our systematic tolerance — our sincere but willful attempt to assume a "proper" attitude — seems to defeat the very quality it aspires to: generosity.

Nobody can take a quantitative measurement of generosity or document its comparative absence or presence. But who can fail to notice the rancor, the smallness-of-heart that often seems to coexist with and mock our tolerance? We have no-fault divorce, and yet seldom has the war-between-the-sexes been more accusatory. Our

bumper stickers proclaim love-love-love toward every living creature from registered nurseries to the vanishing whale, and yet we drive our cars with a ruthlessness that treats other motorists as sworn enemies. In the important and the trivial ways of life we seem to lack some essential patience on which all other virtues must depend. And so we have this terrible tendency to be tolerant to everybody and generous to nobody.

As a word, generosity has the same root meaning as nobility. Originally, that is, it meant behaving like an aristocrat. But then, originally aristocrat meant rule by the best. In a mere footnote to "Psalms: The Ideals of Greek Culture" the classical scholar Werner Jaeger wrote an inspired mini-essay, suggesting that the supreme scholasticism of the Greeks was to take the concept of nobility, of generosity, and transform it from an accident of birth to an ideal of aristocracy of the spirit — a dream of "the perfection of man," all men.

If he is right, generosity is the moral equivalent of heroism, making all those who are capable of it truly aristocratic. We are always being told this is not the age for heroism. But the only alternative to heroism, and the heroism of generosity, is the little laugh over the library table — the awful savoring of ersatz and second-class feelings. Like marriage without affection, tolerance without generosity is one thing we cannot tolerate.

Romania remembers

By Eric Bourne

Vienna
Romania is this year marking the centenary of its first precarious independence.

The March earthquake proscribed lavishly planned celebrations. But party politicians and academics have been having a field day with history — and the similarities between the appearances of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and of World War II and after.

The picture is of a Romania reluctant in both instances to be involved but, by force of circumstance, finding no other option and on each occasion being largely ignored in subsequent peace-making.

The World War II instance, at least, is a little contrived. But the 19th-century struggle toward national identity is recalled in the context now of a communist Romania (in a communist bloc) affected by the geopolitics of a colossal neighbor just as was its predecessor 100 years ago.

A flurry of lyrically nationalist and patriotic articles in party newspapers and specialist media has dug into archives which blandly convey — without polemics — that a century ago Romania's "misfortune" at being on the most direct road to Turkey and that it was also geo-

graphically too distant from the powers required to guarantee it.

Predictably, Soviet specialists — mindful of Russian interest, Czarist or Soviet — have closely followed this discussion. Romania's "liberation and independence," they write, could only have come or be sustained, through rapprochement with Russia.

This is, of course, the contemporary Soviet view of the whole Balkans, an area which to this day is a potentially disturbing element in European politics.

Other aptitudes find their current echo — the argument over passage for Czarist troops, the convention on Romania's integrity (completed after troops, in fact, had already entered), Romanian efforts to retain control of forces fighting with the Czar and so on.

In recent years, Romania frequently sought modification of the command structure of the Warsaw Pact and refused all but token participation in its territory. It still echos full-blown "integration" for Comecon, the big economic organization so heavily weighted by Russia.

The ultimate contribution to the 1877 war is

extolled, above all for the way in which (as today's defense minister, General Ion Coman, wrote, "The entire nation mobilized all its resources to support the front" — an emotive example for Romania's present concept of "all peoples" nationwide defense of its independence.

Independence was proclaimed in 1877, but not altogether to Bucharest's satisfaction. History seemed to Romanians to repeat itself in World War II when they switched to the victorious anti-Hitler coalition before the close but were allowed only limited status at the 1945 peace table.

Today they are striving as never before to "institutionalize" the Romanian nation-state, its continuity and its "vocation" for freedom and independence over several centuries.

It is against a contemporary background in which Romania still sees itself, like other small nations, pressed by big-power rivalries. It would be happy indeed to "get out from under" and to be left to itself to be (like neighboring Yugoslavia) nonaligned and neutral.

Mr. Bourne is this newspaper's correspondent in Eastern Europe.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

President Carter and the Middle East

The joint statement which the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union issued Oct. 1 on the subject of the Middle East represents the most important move in foreign policy which President Carter has yet made.

It may well be the most important he will make while in the White House. It is also the most controversial. It will certainly involve a confrontation with the state of Israel and with its friends in the United States which he would have avoided had that been at all possible.

It is the most important yet made by Mr. Carter because it is aimed at reaching a settlement of the only situation in the world today which is so unsettled and which so involves the interests of both the superpowers that it could, if resolved, lead to a dangerous and perhaps even fatal confrontation between the superpowers.

There are other difficult situations in the world where Soviet and American interests are involved. Southern Africa is one of them. But there is nothing foreseeable in Rhodesia or South Africa which could conceivably involve United States troops facing each other. In the unsettled Middle East could do just that. The Soviets would undoubtedly intervene if, for example, Israeli troops were on the verge of capturing Damascus or Cairo. American troops

would certainly intervene if Soviet troops seemed likely to obtain control of the major sources of Arabian oil.

It is not to be forgotten that at the height of the 1973 war in the Middle East the Soviets prepared an airborne division as Israeli troops broke across the Suez Canal and almost encircled an entire Egyptian Army Corps. The American response was a worldwide alert of American military forces.

Another war in the Middle East is not only likely, but almost inevitable if there is no settlement at least tentatively in sight by the end of this year. Time is running out for such a settlement. The governments in both Egypt and Syria are in trouble. Both would probably fail and be replaced by Arab extremists unless there is progress toward settlement.

When Mr. Carter intervened on Oct. 1 events in the Middle East were heading straight down the road to crisis. Israeli Prime Minister Begin's words and deeds were aimed at annexation by Israel of the West Bank. But annexation would force the Arab governments to prepare for the next war. No Arab government could survive which acquiesced in that annexation. In both Cairo and Damascus a lost war could seem the lesser evil.

Begin's words and deeds have given Mr.

Carter little choice. He could not allow the annexation policy to proceed any further without intervening. To stand aside and do nothing would be to betray the promises made by three presidents over several years to the Arabs. It would wash out the basis for the present understanding between Washington and the Arab capitals that, given time, Washington would obtain a restoration to the Arabs of their lost territories.

Mr. Carter intervened with the utmost reluctance. Only two years ago President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger decided that it was necessary to use American leverage on Israel. They delayed the delivery of some American weapons to Israel. The Israeli lobby in Washington obtained the signatures of 70 senators to a letter urging the President to "be responsive to Israel's urgent military and economic needs." The Israelis got what they wanted.

Mr. Carter has picked up the challenge which Prime Minister Begin offered by his annexation policy. The question is posed whether the state of Israel can control more votes in the Senate of the United States than can the President of the United States. The Israeli lobby is the most powerful possessed by any foreign government in Washington, ever. Mr. Carter cannot be sure that he actually can

swing more votes in the Senate than can Mr. Begin.

Mr. Carter and the State Department tried to head off this test of strength with Israel. They warned repeatedly that Israeli settlements in the West Bank area are regarded by the United States as "illegal" and as damaging to the cause of peace. Mr. Carter is having trouble with Congress over his energy bill and over the Panama Canal treaty. These may prove to be mild battles compared to the one he must have over the use of American leverage on Israel to cause it to do what must be done if the next war in the Middle East is to be avoided.

The inevitable intensity of the political battle needed in Washington measures the importance which the President attaches to the understanding by Israel of the annexation policy. No president would dream of challenging the Israeli lobby unless he felt that he had no choice.

Any reader who wants more detail on what has been said above should read the article by George Ball, former Undersecretary of State, which appeared in the April, 1977, issue of Foreign Affairs under the title "How to Save Israel in Spite of Itself." Mr. Carter is embarked on precisely the policy which Mr. Ball outlined in that article. No one can foresee how far Mr. Carter will be able to go with it.

One man, one vote — but not for South Africa

By Kenneth L. Adelman

When the curtain falls on the Steve Biko affair — the latest scene in the unfolding drama of South Africa — the basic problem remains: how the outcries of passion, threats of foreign sanctions, and calls to lighten the burden (expressed in a circle) looms one central question: What is the future shape of South Africa's society?

It most certainly will not be "one man, one vote," as the Carter administration has publicly proposed and Americans have generally accepted. Vice-President Mondale's moving this approach last May met with cold stares from Prime Minister Vorster in Vienna and universal repudiation in Johannesburg.

The American ideal of true democracy is not anywhere in the world, practically nonexistent in Africa, and probably not applicable or desirable for South Africa. One man, one vote ignores unmistakable yet vast disparities in education, wealth, and values between the country's blacks and whites. Unlike reforms springing from the U.S. civil-rights movement, which extended minority participation in an established system, a full black vote in South Af-

rica would invariably lead to a new governmental system.

For this reason, no South African white — regardless of how reformist or anti-apartheid — now supports this scheme. British speakers fear a replay of the loss of freedom and prosperity throughout black-ruled Africa. Afrikaners also tremble at risking their precious vote with its distinct religion, politics, language, and culture. They stand before their God as the chosen guardians of an inspired Calvinist tradition.

The Vice-President's raising of the moral banner lowered the reformers' hopes. His high-pitched crusade forced the lively South African opposition into disheartened alliance with Vorster against the Mondale proposals. The long-enduring reformers lamented the loss of a golden opportunity to chip away at apartheid. Reactionaries cheered the whites' newfound unity and have used the administration's stance to condemn "outsider interference" and resist all meaningful change.

Mr. Vorster recently reminded a U.S. interviewer that the Carter administration "never

repudiated" Mondale's position, a point he plans to harp on until the Nov. 30 elections. Surely this defiance will help him receive a new mandate with which to implement a revised constitution (one granting Coloreds and Asians their own parliaments without any independent power) and move forward on the homeland schemes (giving blacks citizenship in distant, overpopulated, underendowed bits of land).

While one man, one vote seems quibbolic for South Africa, "armed liberation" appears downright absurd. Calls for a jihad or holy war also come from afar. A black Soweto newspaper editor says that no "responsible" South African black believes "whites are expendable and must be thrown into the sea." Those spouting this rhetoric forget that whites settled in 14 generations ago, are not colonialists (in fact, the Boers fought the continent's first anticolonial war), and thus have rightful claims to the land. Besides, they dominate the economy of the state and all neighboring black states.

Power does, at least partially, come from the barrel of a gun, and the whites monopolize

the guns. Even without nuclear weapons (their development probably postponed but not completely eliminated), South Africa could handle any conceivable attack, conventional or guerrilla. Tanzanian President Nyerere said last summer, "No combination of African countries can really be a military threat to South Africa."

South Africa's future lies somewhere between the extremes, in plans congenial with past practices and current realities. Change in the country must be both feasible, making acceptable to large segments of blacks and whites, and just, providing human dignity. The two themes of African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism must exist side by side, if not together.

Three possibilities now being mentioned may fit the bill:

• A federation or confederation providing blacks greater control over their own lives was recently proposed by an Afrikaner Cabinet officer. This had been long championed by white opposition parties and black leaders like Zulu Chief Buthelesi.

• A limited franchise would extend political participation by making blacks eligible to vote on the basis of education or economics. Whites would retain their vote and, for the immediate future, their domination. Nonetheless, power-sharing would begin, blurring racism and, some incentives exist for black advancement, all while preserving stability.

• True partition would extend the homeland policy to create one or two large, economically healthy, and truly independent black states. This scheme might begin by bracking off Natal, the republic's eastern province, which contains over a million blacks, 515,000 Asians, and half a million whites (very few of whom are Afrikaners).

None of these alternatives is particularly enticing; each has its own conspicuous problems. But this is only to be expected. If simple solutions existed, South Africa would not have remained such a trouble spot over the decades. Besides, forces of change may soon overtake fears of change. Whites, blacks, and the world community may soon have to accept the best available alternative rather than its abstract ideal.

The drama goes on, but time runs short. The flat regulation of time by all major actors will soon have to be replaced by careful analysis of a feasible and just solution for South Africa.

Mr. Adelman lived and worked in Africa, 1972-75, and served as assistant to the Secretary of Defense, 1977-78.

Readers write

Lawyers' guild on Mideast

The recent, full-page advertisement in your paper by the Arab Information Center requires a clarification by the National Lawyers Guild.

The ad, produced and paid for by the Arab Information Center (a registered agent of the League of Arab States), was designed in a manner that made it appear to be an ad placed by the National Lawyers Guild. The National Lawyers Guild had no part whatsoever in the ad, nor did it have any knowledge, approval, or consent of the guild.

More importantly, the ad misrepresents the position of the Middle East taken by the guild at the National Convention this August. Its position is that the guild members as organized bodies of lawyers are not to be involved in the Middle East.

The guild sponsored a fact-finding mission to examine allegations of denial of Palestinian civil rights in the Middle East. The mission was released by members of the guild in a press conference in New York City and reproduced in the ad. However, the guild as an organization has not adopted a position with respect to the issue of Israeli de-

nial of Palestinian civil rights.

The Convention, by formal resolution: 1. Called on the PLO and the state of Israel to commit themselves to the exchange of mutual recognition between an independent sovereign Palestinian state and the state of Israel, and for those states to establish a structure for future peaceful relations;

2. Called for Israeli withdrawal to its 1967 boundaries;

3. Recognized the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and national independence, and the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and

4. Called for the elimination of all forms of religious, ethnic, national, and sexual discrimination in all Middle East states.

Henry D. Suvero, President
National Lawyers Guild

New York

Begin's plan for Israel

Joseph C. Harsch's article "Begin makes things difficult for Carter" in the Aug. 26 issue of the Monitor, International Edition, is right on the mark.

Eight years after the new Israel had been in-

stituted, the Jerusalem Post (Oct. 2, 1956) reported a speech by Menachem Begin, head of the Herut Party, where, speaking at its convention in Tel Aviv before 1,400 people, he reportedly said, "The day is fast approaching when the pupils of Jabotinsky (early founder of the militant Revisionist Party, sponsoring the underground Irgun) would present themselves to the president of the (Israeli) state to form a new government in cooperation with other groups to replace the Mapai (Ben-Gurion's socialist) regime."

If the disciples of Jabotinsky come to power, Begin continued, "they would assert Israel's right to its entire territory, not on the basis of the land now occupied, as Mr. Ben-Gurion did, but on the basis of the historic boundaries (both sides of the Jordan)."

Sherman, Texas

Charles W. Owens Jr.

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, October 10

Carter as diplomat

President Carter's speech to the United Nations significantly reflected the current state and thrust of American foreign policy. It did not address primarily the concerns of the third world and issues of global economic interdependence — themes which Mr. Carter strongly highlighted at the outset of his administration. Rather did the President focus on those problems which have most preoccupied him in his first eight months in office: arms control and peace in the Middle East.

This is not a criticism. It is simply to suggest that, however dramatically different on image the new President has wished to project, he has been drawn by realities to face first precisely those overriding diplomatic problems that concerned his predecessors. As a "trilateralist," Mr. Carter would prefer to stress international over big-power relationships, yet the latter still occupy center stage. And reasonably so — for unless the two superpowers come to some understanding about the root questions of war and peace, all other matters become irrelevant.

Similarly is the President forced by circumstances to seek a solution of the conflict in the Middle East. This too demands high priority. For if the dispute is permitted to go unresolved, it could impair the whole Western economic system and even draw the Soviet Union and the United States into nuclear confrontation — and again everything else becomes irrelevant.

To his credit, Mr. Carter has not shied from these mammoth challenges. He has received a fair amount of criticism for early awkward mistakes born of inexperience. He is faulted, and with some justification, for conducting foreign policy in an ad hoc, slap-dash way, without an overall "strategy" or "grand design" or "conceptual framework." But, after some false starts, he has settled down to the day-to-day management of foreign policy — and the myriad complex, difficult pieces of which it is made up — with a bit more skill, subtlety and even innovation.

It is too soon to speak of diplomatic successes. But there are some positive signs of movement. Mr. Carter will probably get a SALT agreement. It looks as if he will achieve

the convening of the Geneva conference on the Middle East. There may also be a comprehensive test-ban treaty and an agreement to limit military activity in the Indian Ocean in southern Africa some momentum can be seen toward a settlement in Rhodesia.

Perhaps most important of all, the President has sought to balance the public's perception of détente. By recognizing the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the Soviet Union, the United States now conveys a more optimistic, positive sense of its possibilities for leadership. Mr. Carter's statement of willingness to reduce America's nuclear arms arsenal by as much as 50 percent if the Soviet Union would do the same is a bold initiative in this context.

Nevertheless at the UN point not only to an underlying continuity of foreign policy, however. They indicate that Mr. Carter's chief foreign policy problem is in effect a domestic problem. The President does not have Congress squarely and bipartisanship behind him on many crucial issues. Ratification of the Panama Canal treaties poses but one obstacle. There promises to be a tough uphill battle on the strategic arms agreement and on a Middle East peace settlement. At the moment the administration is stymied on such questions as Cyprus and foreign aid. The Congress, resolved to regain its authority after the "imperial presidency" of recent years, is posing what may become a formidable challenge to the President's constitutional charge to conduct foreign policy.

Outcome of this tug-of-war will determine in the end how much the Carter administration can accomplish abroad. But, in terms of the substance of foreign policy, the President deserves encouragement. On many important issues — human rights, arms sales, nuclear proliferation — he has had to moderate his high expectations. He is still not dealing imaginatively with third-world problems. He is not articulating foreign policy well. But he is approaching problems with a pragmatic sense of what is possible and allowing a capacity to learn and grow. Foreign, including Soviet, officials who confer with him appear impressed with his intellectual grasp. After less than a year in office, this is a creditable start.

Belgrade opportunity

If it is to be meaningful, the 35-nation conference on East-West détente meeting in Belgrade will have to avoid heated polemics. This will not be easy. Both the Western and the Soviet bloc nations feel they have reason to upbraid each other for failure to live up to the 1975 Helsinki declaration. Hence it is encouraging to hear that Moscow and Washington will seek to avoid an angry confrontation over the sensitive issue of human rights.

Arthur Goldberg, chief U.S. delegate to the meeting, indicates that the United States will seek a full review of all the main provisions of the Helsinki records. But he prudently cautions that one cannot expect dramatic changes overnight. The struggle for human rights is necessarily a slow process. A reasonable strategy for the West, therefore, is to keep up the pressures on the Soviets and their clients whose progress is feasible but to stop short of backing them into positions where they feel threatened.

Certainly a polemical tone will in the long run exert a greater influence on Moscow than a confrontational strategy. It should not be forgotten that the West's whole purpose in reluctantly accepting the Soviet-promoted conference on European security and cooperation two years ago was to help create the conditions that would give Eastern Europe a little more breathing space. That has happened and to a greater extent than could have been foreseen. And it is likely that the East Europeans, Poles, Hungarians, and others — see the Belgrade conference as an opportunity to enhance their freedom of movement even more. This will be possible if the Western nations are willing to throw the spotlight of criticism on themselves as well.

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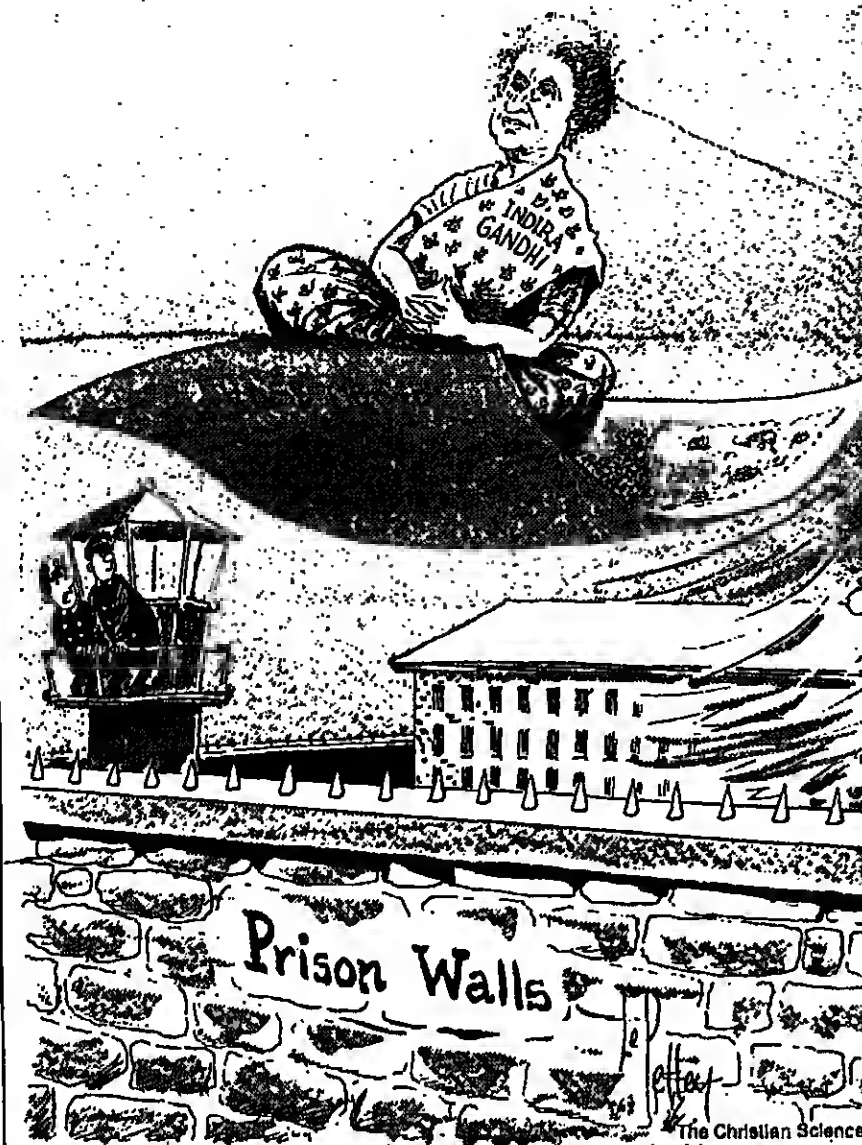
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In short, the current of influence has flowed largely from West to East, not the other way around.

This does not mean there should not be a forthright review of the Soviet bloc's record on human rights. Some definite progress can be recorded — on Jewish emigration, reunification of families, eased conditions for Western journalists. But, needless to say, there is a mighty long way to go. The very nature of the Soviet system and Marxist ideology defies the notion of political rights. The Khrushchev's current crackdown on dissidents shows how determined it is to put down the campaign for civil liberties.

Although the West cannot hope to hold the Russians to a pace of rapid liberalization, however, it can continue to press them publicly to live up to the Helsinki records, especially in areas where no loss of face or pride is involved. Through such a judicious approach the Belgrade conference could prove to be a constructive waymark rather than an exercise in rhetoric.

'There she goes again. It's some kind of magic'



Due process for Mrs. Gandhi

The brief detention of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi may have been part of India's version of post-Watergate morality. Certainly it is important for the present government of Prime Minister Morarji Desai to demonstrate that it will pursue allegations of official corruption wherever they lead — in contrast with India's past reputation for too much tolerance of such corruption.

But inevitably the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi, an increasingly outspoken critic of her successor, invited political interpretation. And she has been making the most of it. She said that, whatever the charges, her arrest was political. Crowds of shouting supporters — sometimes battling with the police — indicated how easily she could be turned into a martyr. Indian political history is full of figures who have worn political imprisonment as a badge of honor.

All the more important that the Desai government prove its claims that it is not conducting a political vendetta against Mrs. Gandhi but properly pursuing legal charges. Her quick court-ordered release suggests due process is operating so far. It must count the charges against her and several others are cleared up. According to one official, she conspired to award an oil-drilling contract to a French company for \$17 million to an American firm offered to do the work for \$10 million. She is also alleged to have misused office to obtain vehicles for campaign purposes.

A government spokesman said the release by Mrs. Gandhi's government during a period declared by her would have judicial along the extraordinary lines of Berg. Any such wrongs should not be investigated by the commission set up for the purpose.

But there is wisdom in the government's decision to limit actions against Mrs. Gandhi based on existing law. It must be able to conduct such legal processes free of political repression which the Indian public has decisively rejected when they voted Mrs. Gandhi out of office.

It is encouraging that the House has unanimously approved an administration-backed bill that would restrict U.S. nuclear exportable uses. It would bar further shipment of atomic materials to any nation that exports nuclear devices. The Senate has a similar bill under consideration which, clearly, is approved without delay.

The world's pressing need for new sources should not obscure the equally need to proceed with extreme caution in coping and spreading nuclear technology. More than a dozen countries already are capable of building nuclear weapons. Mr. Carter should continue to exert leadership in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. He has wisely called "one of mankind's pressing challenges."

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The Monitor's view

Carter as diplomat

President Carter's speech to the United Nations significantly reflected the current state and thrust of American foreign policy. It did not address primarily the concerns of the third world and issues of global economic interdependence — themes which Mr. Carter strongly highlighted at the outset of his administration. Rather did the President focus on those problems which have most preoccupied him in his first eight months in office: arms control and peace in the Middle East.

This is not a criticism. It is simply to suggest that, however dramatically different an image the new President has wished to project, he has been drawn by realities to face first precisely those overriding diplomatic problems that concerned his predecessors. As a "realist," Mr. Carter would prefer to stress international over big-power relationships, yet the latter still occupy center stage. And reasonably so — for unless the two superpowers come to some understanding about the questions of war and peace, the latter become irrelevant.

Similarly, the conflict in the Middle East demands high priority. It could impair the whole Western economic system and even draw the Soviet Union and the United States into nuclear confrontation — and again everything else becomes irrelevant.

To his credit, Mr. Carter has not shied from these mammoth challenges. He has received a fair amount of criticism for early awkward mistakes born of inexperience. He is faulted, and with some justification, for conducting foreign policy in an ad hoc, slap-dash way, without an overall "strategy" or "grand design" or "conceptual framework." But, after some false starts, he has settled down to the day-to-day management of foreign policy — and the myriad complex, difficult pieces of which it is made up — with a bit more skill, subtlety and even innovation.

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the reconvening of the Geneva conference on the Middle East. There may also be a comprehensive test-ban treaty and an agreement to limit military activity in the Indian Ocean. In southern Africa some momentum can be seen toward a settlement in Rhodesia.

Perhaps most important of all, the President has sought to balance the public's perception of détente. By recognizing the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the Soviet Union, the United States now conveys a more optimistic, positive sense of its possibilities for leadership. Mr. Carter's statement of willingness to reduce America's nuclear arms arsenal by as much as 50 percent if the Soviet Union would do the same is a bold initiative in this context.

Verberations at the UN point not only to underlying continuity of foreign policy, however. They indicate that Mr. Carter's chief foreign policy problem is in effect a domestic problem. The President does not have Congress squarely and bipartisely behind him on many crucial issues. Ratification of the Panama Canal treaties poses but one obstacle. There promises to be a tough uphill battle on the strategic arms agreement and on a Middle East peace settlement. At the moment the administration is stymied on such questions as Cyprus and foreign aid. The Congress, resolved to regain its authority after the "imperial presidency" of recent years, is posing what may become a formidable challenge to the President's constitutional charge to conduct foreign policy.

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Let it be remembered, too, that many in the West thought the Helsinki conference would lead to a strong Soviet grip on Western Europe. Some alarmists suggested it would undermine European unity. This has not happened. Indeed, if anything, the Helsinki agreement has backfired on the Russians, forcing them to deal publicly with the issue of human rights. Through increased exchanges and joint ventures in the economic and scientific spheres, meanwhile, the West European nations have built up an impressive web of relations with Eastern Europe, which give both sides a vested interest in stability and cooperation.

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All the more important that the Desai government prove its claims that it is not conducting a political vendetta against Mrs. Gandhi but properly pursuing legal charges. Her quick court-ordered release suggests due process is operating so far. It must not be the charges against her and several others cleared up. According to one charge, she conspired to award an oil-drilling contract to a French company for \$17 million if American firms offered to do the work. She is also alleged to have an office to obtain vehicles for campaign purposes.

A government spokesman said the charges against Mrs. Gandhi's government during the emergency declared by her would have a trial along the extraordinary lines of the 1975-76 period. Any such wrongs should not be repeated. The emergency period should be thoroughly investigated by the commission set up for the purpose.

But there is wisdom in the government's decision to limit actions against Mrs. Gandhi based on existing law. It must be able to conduct such legal processes free of political repression which the Indians decisively rejected when they voted Mrs. Gandhi out of office.

A-bomb with a message

It was a rather quiet atomic bomb. So quiet, in fact, that word of its successful explosion in Nevada several years ago has only recently leaked out. And apparently leaked by the Carter administration to make an important point. The United States has demonstrated that letting plutonium from nuclear power plants can indeed be used for making atomic bombs.

Coming at a time when President Carter has been seeking — with little success — to convince France, West Germany, and other nuclear powers of the potential dangers of rapidly spreading nuclear technology to developing third-world nations such as Pakistan and Brazil, the message should be clear: "If we can do it, so can they."

It is hardly reassuring that U.S. scientists found it difficult to make the bomb from reactor-grade plutonium, which is impure and dangerously radioactive, requiring expensive and sophisticated equipment for handling.

It is encouraging that the House has almost unanimously approved an administration bill that would restrict U.S. nuclear export to peaceful uses. It would bar further shipment of atomic materials to any nation that exports nuclear devices. The Senate has a similar bill under consideration which, clearly, should be approved without delay.

The world's pressing need for new sources should not obscure the equally need to proceed with extreme caution in spreading nuclear technology to more than a dozen countries already are capable of building nuclear weapons. Carter should continue to exert leadership in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. He has wisely called "one of mankind's most pressing challenges."

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